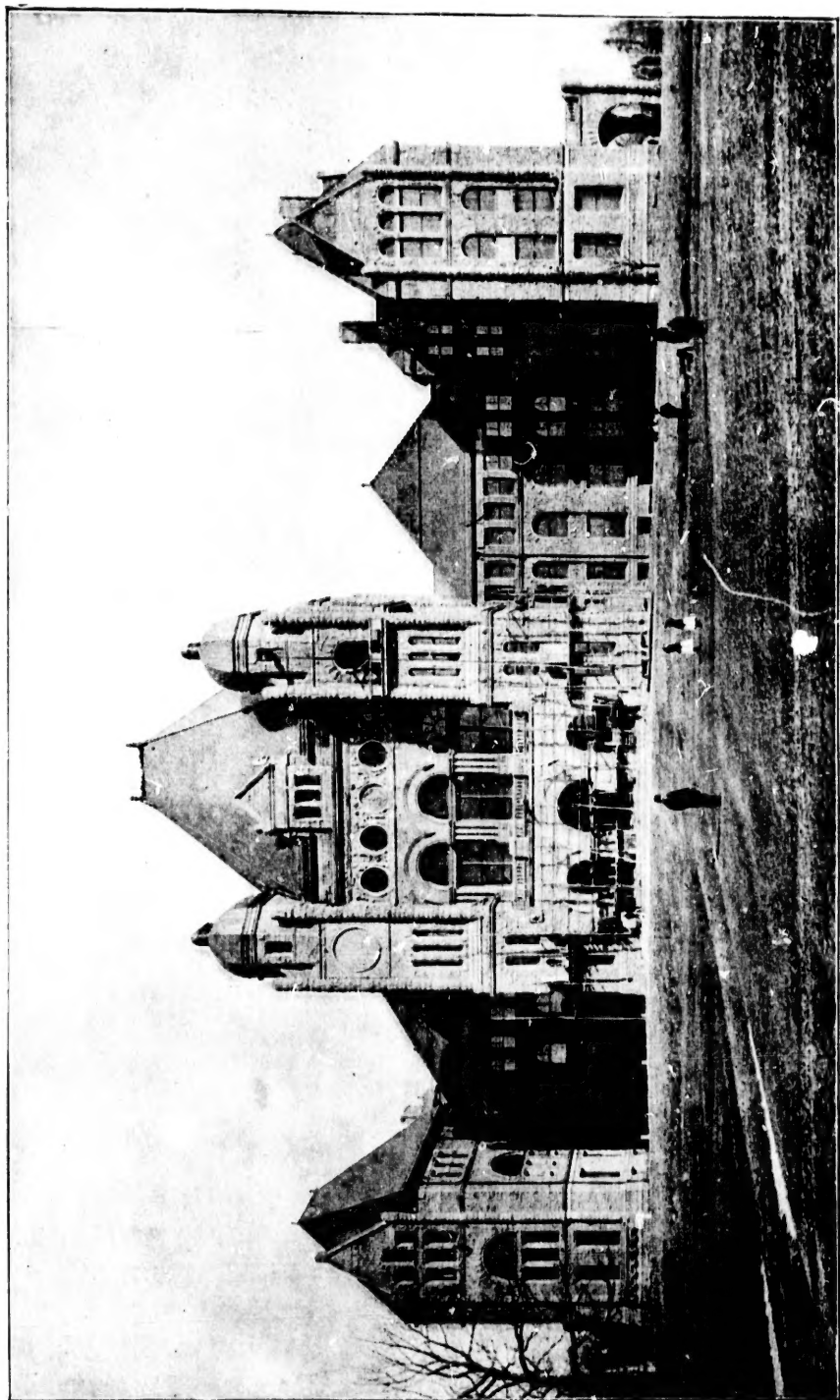




New Parliament Building, Erected 1892.

ONTARIO'S PARLIAMENT BUILDINGS:

OR,

A CENTURY OF LEGISLATION,

1792—1892.

A HISTORICAL SKETCH

BY

FRANK YEIGH

TORONTO.

ILLUSTRATED.

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IS

DEDICATED BY PERMISSION TO

SIR OLIVER MOWAT, K.C.M.G.,

PREMIER AND ATTORNEY-GENERAL

OF THE

PROVINCE OF ONTARIO

FOR TWENTY-ONE YEARS.



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PREFACE.

MUCH of a country's history is born within its legislative halls. Anglo-Saxon freedom was largely developed in the ancient moot and the modern Parliament, and the foundations of British self-government were laid in the open air Parliament on the plain of Runnymede and within the historic walls of Westminster. The American Republic is built upon a constitutional foundation erected by its representatives in the Congresses of the eighteenth century; the connecting links between the France of Louis XIV. and the France of President Carnot are traceable in the records of the Chambre des Deputies on the banks of the Seine. From the world's Parliaments have emanated the world's best laws, and the voice of the people in the control of national affairs the remedying of national ills and the institution of national reforms has ever been more effective, more ennobling, and more pregnant with good results than the exercised power of a tyrant king or an autocratic ruler.

Equally true is it that much of Ontario's history had its inception in her Parliaments; equally true that the legislative record of the past century represents the best in that history. It is not the author's intention, however, to attempt to deal fully with the latter in these pages, but the more modest task of outlining the historical importance of the four Parliament Buildings that

have been erected in this Province since 1792, and of tracing their varied life of a hundred years,—especially that of the old red-brick pile that has recently been deserted for its noble successor in the Queen's Park. The old Parliament Buildings on Front-street have not only had an eventful history, but their walls have echoed with the voices of two generations of Canadian public men, and the statutes of its Parliaments and Legislatures are the basis and protection of our Provincial life. The chief aim of this sketch is merely to preserve a few scattering memories, not only of the historic old structure on Front-street, but of its predecessors.

I am indebted for valuable assistance to Mr. John Ross Robertson and his valuable collection of papers on the Landmarks of Toronto; to Mr. W. Revell for sketches for illustrations, and to numerous friends whose suggestions and information have been of much value.

FRANK YEIGH.





CHAPTER I.

THE FIRST PARLIAMENT OF UPPER CANADA.

1792—1796.

AN interesting chain of historical events preceded the gathering of the small band of men in old Newark, on the seventeenth day of September, 1792, in response to the first summons of vice-regal authority to the first Parliament of Upper Canada. The initial link was forged on a memorable day in 1763, when His Most Christian Majesty, King Louis XV. of France, was induced to renounce all claims to Nova Scotia or Acadia, ceding it and all its dependencies to His Britannic Majesty George III.—a kingly transaction involving the transfer of half a continent from Gaulish to Anglo-Saxon rule. Linked to this link is King George's proclamation of the same year, dividing his new possessions and defining the boundaries thereof. Thus was Quebec born as a province, although the Imperial Parliament, in 1774, enlarged its boundaries to the shores of Lake Erie and the banks of the Ohio and Mississippi, including the present American States of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, Wisconsin, and part of Minnesota, until their relinquishment in 1783. The third link was added in 1791, when King and Parliament divided the immense area of Quebec into two separate provinces—Upper and Lower Canada, each with a constitution of its own. Under this original provincial magna charta, John Graves Simcoe, an English Lieutenant-Colonel who had performed distinguished services in the revolution, was appointed the first Lieutenant-Governor. He it was therefore who set in motion the machinery of local self-government which has run, with more or less of friction, for a century.

Leaving London near the end of 1791, the newly-appointed representative of the Crown landed in Quebec, and in the spring of 1792 proceeded on his journey to his new scene of labor. It was a novel procession that thus slowly wended its way westward. The erstwhile English colonel and his staff occupied a small fleet of bark canoes which were steered through the smoother waters of the St. Lawrence by trusty Indians and portaged past the rapids. At a humble hostelry midway on the journey, the distinguished voyageur rested beneath an inviting sign which bore the sentences:—

“LIVE AND LET LIVE.”

“PEACE AND PLENTY TO ALL MANKIND.”

With a salvo of artillery from an old French cannon, assisted by the demonstrations of loyalty from George III's liegemen, “in their queer old broad-skirted military coats, their low-tasselled boots, and their looped chapeaux,” the king's representative received the honor and attention befitting so rare and high a dignitary, and responded in speech-making and health-drinking. In due time the fleet reached Kingston, where Simcoe organized his government by the selection of his executive council on the 8th day of July, under the provisions of the Imperial Constitutional Act of 1791, the five members of the first council being William Osgoode, William Robertson, James Baby, Alexander Grant, and Peter Russell.

The event was one of solemnity, so the historian states, and the religious ceremony connected with it was performed in a little wooden church, the oaths of office being impressively administered to His Excellency and his advisers by the honorable Chief Justice Osgoode.

At the first meeting of the Executive Council the initial appointments of Legislative Councillors were made in Robert Hamilton, Richard Cartwright and John Munro, to which were afterward added William Osgoode, James Baby, Alexander Grant and Peter Russell, making the full complement of seven.

Having thus accomplished the preliminary work of organizing his government, Governor Simcoe left Kingston on July 21st,

1792, for his new capital of Newark, (which had a previous name as Lennox) with the accompanying military support of the Queen's Rangers, who boasted a revolutionary history no less interesting than his own.

A strange and crude "capital" was that where Simcoe established his Government House. True, it had a fort, well manned for those days, while its companion fort across the Niagara River was then also in possession of the English, but the little village could boast of less than half-a-hundred pioneer houses with a meagre population, but the fact that these inhabitants were mostly United Empire Loyalists was, no doubt, one of the determining factors in the choice of Newark. At this time the population of Upper Canada was only about ten thousand whites and as many Indians.

Simcoe lost little time in convening his first Parliament, and through it sowing the seed of responsible government, though he was the virtual ruler and law-maker. His first appointments were Major Littlehales, as Military Secretary; Colonel Thomas Talbot, as Aide-de-camp; Mr. Gray, as Solicitor-General; John Small, as Clerk of the Executive Council; William Jarvis, as Civil Secretary; Peter Russell, as Receiver-General; D. W. Smith, as Surveyor-General, with Thomas Ridout and William Chewett, as Assistants. Peter Clark was appointed Clerk of the Legislative Council, and Colonel John Butler, Superintendent of the Indian Department.

At last the seventeenth of September, 1792, arrived, when the sixteen representatives were summoned to their new and important duties. The chosen members of the first Parliament of Upper Canada were:—

JOHN BOOTH,
MR. BABY,
ALEXANDER CAMPBELL,
PHILIP DORLAND,*
PETER VANAALSTINE,*

JEREMIAH FRENCH,
EPHRAIM JONES,
WILLIAM MACOMB,
HUGH MACDONELL,
BENJAMIN RAWLING,

* Peter Vanaalstine was elected in Philip Dorland's place, the latter refusing to be sworn in, being a Quaker, and not taking his seat in consequence.

NATHANIEL PETTITT,
HAZELTON SPENCER,
——— YOUNG,

DAVID WILLIAM SMITH,
ISAAC SWAZY,
JOHN WHITE.

JOHN MACDONELL,—Speaker.

ANGUS MACDONELL,—Clerk. GEORGE LAW,—Sergeant-at-Arms.
Rev. Mr. ADDISON,—Chaplain.

The Province was divided into nineteen counties, represented by sixteen members as above, the electoral districts being made up as follows:—Glengarry 2 representatives; Stormont, 1; Dundas, 1; Grenville, 1; Leeds and Frontenac, 1; Ontario (Islands in Lake Ontario) and Addington, 1; Lenox, Hastings and Northumberland, 1; Prince Edward (and Adolphustown from Lenox), 1; Durham, West York and First Riding Lincoln, 1; East York, 1; Lincoln, Second and Third Ridings, 1; Norfolk and fourth Lincoln, 1; Suffolk and Essex, 1; Kent, 2.

John White was appointed the first Attorney-General, a position he held for eight years when he died from the effects of a wound received in a duel fought with John Small, the Clerk of the Executive Council, over a personal disagreement.

The salaries of the officials of the first Parliament hardly seem too munificent, yet they were criticized as being unduly large. The Clerk of the House received £91.5s. Quebec currency, the Sergeant-at-Arms £45, and the Doorkeeper £10.

Not all the newly-elected members put in an appearance, however, but a sufficient number were present to open Parliament, which was done with all the pomp that could be produced. The first Parliament of Canada is supposed by some to have been held under an oak tree which is still standing—with but few of its sturdy old branches left—at the southern limit of the beautiful property known as the Anchorage. The same tree is also pointed out as the one on which two American spies were hung, during the war of 1812. Others hold to the opinion that the upper room in a Freemason's hall had this honor, while others claim that it met in a camp tent, and that Simcoe took his seat on a camp stool when he delivered his address. Still another writer claims that Navy Hall was not only Simcoe's official residence, but that it was the original meeting place of the Legislature.

The Legislative Council chamber was in a building near the barracks of Butler's Rangers on the hill. The ancient ceremonial that has distinguished the opening of Britain's Parliament during the centuries was reproduced on a miniature scale in the new capital of the new colony.

The dignified, athletic, and well-proportioned figure of Governor Simcoe, set off by the handsome scarlet and gold-laced uniform of the Queen's Rangers, formed in itself no unimportant part of the official "Commencement exercises," although the pomp and pageantry of Newark was a vast remove from the stately function of the King's opening. On this historical and momentous occasion, the scarlet-uniformed Queen's Rangers marched to the stirring drum-beat from Fort Niagara, as a guard of honor for "His Excellency the Governor," to the delight of the few hundred United Empire Loyalists who composed the limited population, and to the wonderment of the assembled Indians.

Duke de Liancourt has left us a graphic picture of an opening ceremony which he witnessed in Newark. "The whole retinue of the Governor," says the note-taking duke, "consisted of the guard and fifty men of the garrison of Fort Niagara. Dressed in silk, he entered the hall with his hat on his head, attended by his adjutant and two secretaries. The two members of the legislative council gave, by their Speaker, notice of it to the assembly. Five members of the latter having appeared at the bar, the Governor delivered a speech, modelled after that of the King, on the political affairs of Europe, on the treaty concluded with the United States, which he mentioned in expressions very favorable to the Union, and on the peculiar concerns of Canada."

Simcoe's first address is perhaps worthy of a place. It read: "Honorable gentlemen of the Legislative Council and gentlemen of the House of Assembly:—

"I have summoned you together under the authority of an Act of Parliament of Great Britain passed in the last year, which has established the British Constitution and all the forms which secure and maintain it in this distant country.

"The wisdom and beneficence of Our Most Gracious Sovereign and the British Parliament have been eminently proved, not only

in imparting to us the same form of Government, but in securing the benefit by the many provisions which guard this memorable Act, so that the blessings of our invaluable constitution, thus protected and amplified, we hope will be extended to the remotest posterity. The great and momentous trusts and duties which have been committed to the representation of this Province in a degree infinitely beyond whatever, till this period, have distinguished any other colony, have originated from the British nation upon a just consideration of the energy and hazard with which the inhabitants have so conspicuously supported and defended the British Constitution. It is from the same patriotism, now called upon to exercise with due deliberation and foresight the various offices of the civil administration, that your fellow-subjects of the British empire expect the foundation of union of industry, and wealth of commerce and power, which may last through all succeeding ages.

"The natural advantages of the Province of Upper Canada are inferior to none on this side of the Atlantic. There can be no separate interest through its whole extent. The British form of government has prepared the way for its speedy colonization, and I trust that your fostering care will improve the favorable situation, and that a numerous and agricultural people will speedily take possession of a soil and climate, which, under the British laws and the munificence with which His Majesty has granted the lands of the Crown, offer such manifest and peculiar encouragement."

On Monday, 15th October, 1792, after "prayers and a sermon," the House was summoned to the Council Chamber to listen to the following prorogation address from the Governor:

"It is with very great satisfaction that I have considered the Acts which you have found it expedient to frame, and to which, in consequence of the power delegated to me, I have this day given my assent that they shall become laws of the Province of Upper Canada. As the division which His Majesty in his wisdom thought proper to make of the late Province of Quebec obviated all inconveniences and laid the foundation for the establishment of the English laws within this Province, it was natural to pre-

sume that you would seize the first opportunity to impart that benefit to your fellow-subjects; and by the Act to establish trial by jury, and by that which makes the English laws the rule of decision in all matters of controversy relative to property and civil rights, you have fully justified public expectation.

"His Majesty, in his benevolence, having directed a seventh from such lands as shall be granted to be reserved to the Crown for the public benefit, it will become my duty to take those measures which shall appear to be necessary to fulfil his gracious intentions, and I make no doubt but that as citizens and magistrates you will give me every assistance in your power to carry into effect fully a system from which the public and posterity must derive such peculiar advantages.

"Hon. gentlemen and gentlemen :

"I cannot dismiss you without earnestly desiring you to promote, by precept and example, among your respective counties, the regular habits of piety and morality, the surest foundations of all public and private felicity; and at this juncture I particularly recommend to you to explain that this Province is singularly blessed, not with a mutilated constitution, but with a constitution which has stood the test of experience and in the very image and transcript of Great Britain, by which she has long established and secured to her subjects as much freedom and happiness as it is possible to be enjoyed under the subordination necessary to civilized society."

During this initial Parliament, the small band of fifteen elected legislators and eight councillors (appointed by the Crown for life) prefaced their important work by passing what may be termed our provincial magna charter, "An act for making more effectual provision for the government of the province of Upper Canada in North America," and to introduce the English law as the rule of decision on all matters of controversy relative to property and civil rights. Thus the law of Britain was made to supersede the old Canadian laws, which in turn had been founded on the French civil law. An act establishing trial by jury was also one of the eight acts passed at this first session, which was adjourned on the 15th of October, after sitting for nearly a month.

No less important is the record, dated Wednesday, June 26th, 1793, "House of Assembly: Read, as engrossed, a bill to effect the gradual suppression of slavery. Ordered that the said bill pass and be sent up for concurrence." And on July 2nd, a minute of the Legislative Council reads: "Read, as amended in the Legislative Council, a bill to prevent the further introduction of slaves into this province. The house concurred in the amendments."

In an issue of the Upper Canada *Gazette* of the same year, an advertisement appears, which gives the best evidence needed for the passage of such a law:

FIVE DOLLARS REWARD.—Ran away from the subscriber, Wednesday, the 25th of June last, a negro man-servant, named John. Whoever will take up the said negro man and return him to his master shall receive the above reward. All persons are forbid harboring the said negro man at their peril.

In the issue of August 19th, 1795, two other advertisements are to be found—one of "The runaway of Sue, a negro wench," and the other;

SALE for three years of a negro wench named Chloe, 23 years old, who understands washing, cooking, etc. Apply to Robert Franklin, at the Receiver-General's.

Even Peter Russell, when administrator of the Province, advertised for sale "a black woman named Peggy, and her son named Jupiter," the price set upon Peggy being \$150, and Jupiter \$200.

Commenting upon this act in his prorogation speech of 1793, Governor Simcoe expressed himself in noble though stilted language: "The Act for the gradual abolition of slavery in this colony, in no respect meets from me a more cheerful concurrence than in that provision which repeals the power heretofore held by the executive branch of the constitution, and precludes it from giving sanction to the importation of slaves, and I cannot but anticipate with singular pleasure that such persons as may be in that unhappy condition which sound policy and humanity unite to condemn, added to their own personal protection from all undue severity, by the law of the land, may from hence-

forth look forward with certainty to the emancipation of their offspring."

Great Britain passed her anti-slavery bill in 1833; the United States in 1865; Brazil in 1871. Upper Canada set them all a noble example a century ago.

The dual language, as well as other debatable questions with which we of 1893 are familiar, had their inception in this first provincial parliament. In the session of 1793 a motion read:

Ordered, That such Acts as have already passed, or may hereafter pass, the Legislature of this province be translated into the French language for the benefit of the inhabitants of the western district of this province, and other French settlers who may come to reside within this province, and that Angus Macdonell, Clerk of this House, be likewise employed as a French translator for this and other purposes of this House.

On the same day that the above was moved in the House an address was presented to Governor Simcoe by the House, in which the following significant clauses appear:

"We have heard with the truest concern of the great violence and almost universal anarchy that have been introduced by the persons exercising the supreme power in France into that once flourishing kingdom, violence that even the sacred person of majesty has not escaped; anarchy that threatens to be the total destruction of that kingdom. Though our natural enemy, we deplore their miseries, but as good citizens and lovers of rule and order we detest their principles.

"We assure your Excellency that our utmost diligence shall be used to frame and complete such a Militia Bill as will not only show our own promptness to fulfil your Excellency's wishes, but our own energy in defending that noble constitution which Great Britain has given us, and which, by enabling us to repel all insults, will secure to us the invaluable blessings that we derive from it."

In the session of 1793, both Houses joined in a patriotic address to "The King's Most Excellent Majesty," arising out of the French revolution: "We beg to lay before you our loyalty and love. And if it should be deemed necessary to add to our tried zeal and

affection, we assure your Majesty that no exertion on our part shall be wanting to convince our fellow subjects that the foremost rank is our station among those who stand forth for the protection and defence of their King and country."

Other important measures were passed during the sessions of these early Parliaments, such as providing for the erection of court houses and other public buildings, establishing a superior court of civil and criminal jurisdiction, regulating the licensing of public houses, and a year or two afterwards, among the Acts passed, was one "to make temporary provision for the regulation of trade between this province and the United States of America, by land or inland navigation." But the introduction of the English Civil Law was the foundation which these pioneer legislators well and truly laid.

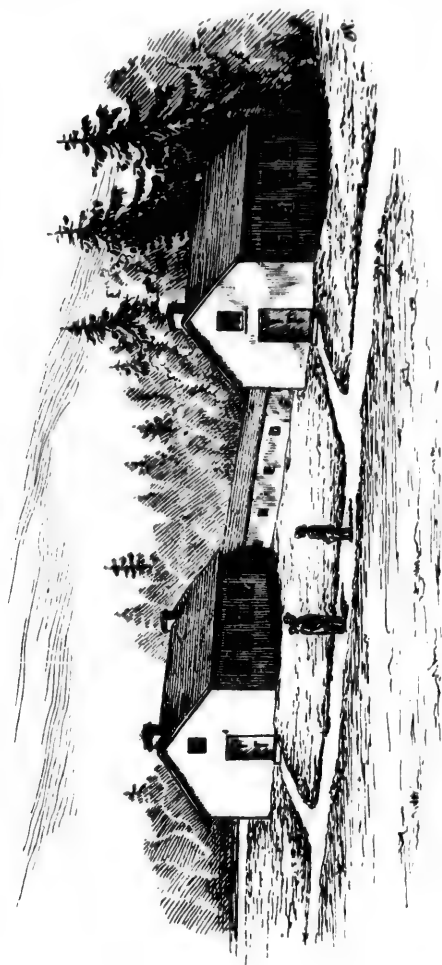
We cannot do too much honor to these men who, working under new conditions and with a new system of government, that is, new to the infant colony, provided proper and wise legislative means for the development of a great province; nor should we forget the sacrifices their position entailed, some travelling for long distances through the virgin forest on horseback, with food for man and beast in the capacious and unwieldy saddle bags; others skirting the shores of the lake in bark canoes, all sacrificing much as the selected representatives of the scattered and sparse population.



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Ontario's First Parliament Buildings, 1796-1813.



CHAPTER II.

THE FIRST PARLIAMENT BUILDINGS IN LITTLE YORK.

1796-1813.

THE change of the seat of Government from Newark to York was decided upon after much thought and consideration. Newark was found to be unsuitable for many reasons, but chiefly on account of its dangerous nearness to the American frontier, the original British fort, which was on the south side of the river, having been given up to the United States. During the early summer of 1793, therefore, Simcoe, accompanied by several boats, which contained his suite and other officials, his Executive Council, and a detachment of the Queen's Rangers, cruised around the head of Lake Ontario for the first time, until he weighed anchor opposite the old French fort, which was the only habitation besides a few wigwams of Indians who were temporarily camped on this their ancient camping grounds.

The Governor soon decided to make this, the site of the present city of Toronto, his capital; though he had previously made temporary choice of the site of the present city of London, on the banks of the Thames, which was then known as La Tranche. He spent the winter of 1794-5 in the nascent capital, engaged in perfecting plans for the village, living in a tent which had a history of its own, as it had once belonged to Captain Cook, the famous Yorkshire navigator. In the spring of 1794, hewn logs, immense beams, shingles, planks, and scantling prepared in the adjoining woods were strewn along the shore, with irregular heaps of stone and a few bricks for the chimneys. In July of that year, the *Canada Gazette*, the first paper published in

the new Province, contained an advertisement which briefly read: "Wanted, carpenters for the public buildings to be erected at York. Applications to be made to John McGill; Esq., at York, or to Mr. Allan McNab, at Navy Hall (Newark)." Thus were the foundations being laid for the first legislative buildings to be erected in this Province, and which were completed in 1796. The site of this old-time structure was on a small piece of cleared land but a stone's throw from the waters of the bay to the south, and the forest to the north and east, while not far to the west there stood a grove of fine oak trees—a remnant of the original forest, and an irregular road led to it from Castle Frank, on the banks of the Don. This road now forms Parliament-street. The ground was covered with finely grown timber and the spot had a noble aspect. The buildings faced westward and commanded a full view of the harbor in that direction. The swamps in the rear were evidently screened off; they are spoken of in early plans as "meadows," "yielding wild hay," "natural meadow which may be mowed," etc.

The laying of the foundations and the subsequent building operations were events of much interest to the handful of settlers and soldiers who formed the limited population. It was necessary to advertise again in 1796 for "a few good house carpenters for the public buildings at York, to whom good encouragement will be given;" but at last the buildings were finished, and "the Palace of the Government," as it was pompously called, was ready for occupation. Bishop Strachan, in writing to Thomas Jefferson, describes them as being composed of "two elegant halls, with convenient offices for the accommodation of the Legislature and the Courts of Justice." There were two edifices designed as wings to a centre, each 40x25 feet, and standing a hundred feet apart, and in an old water color they appear at the extreme eastern end of the main and only street of the embryo city, hard by the wooden blockhouse, with a plot of land adjoining, called "Government Park." They were utilized, when Parliament was not sitting, as the court room for the Court of King's Bench. The Legislative Council met in a separate building to the west.

Dr. Scadding says: "As to the character of the early parlia-

ment buildings here erected, they seem to have consisted of two separate edifices or halls, intended at some future time to be united by a larger central structure, of which they would form the wings; but this larger structure was never erected; in the meantime a sort of covered way or colonnade passed from the one to the other. The building, as thus arranged, is marked upon old plans, still existing, of these parts, and shown also in an early pictorial sketch of this locality."

It is interesting to recall the size and state of Toronto in 1796. A few new buildings had been erected in addition to the twelve log houses and the barracks that first formed the settlement. Vessels approaching the banks threw out a gang plank to the muddy shore. To the north, the Governor's soldiers had hewn out a roadway to Lake Simcoe, a distance of 30 miles. Old settlers who passed away during the 'fifties, were wont to tell thrilling stories of the bears shot on King-street, and the howling of the wolves at night in the vicinity of the Parliament Buildings and the market!

Yet, despite the perils and dangers surrounding the settlers, they made the best possible use of their limited social advantages and no doubt succeeded in enjoying life measurably well. Peter Russell, writing from Newark in 1796 to John McGill, at York, says: "I am sorry you suffer so much personally from the cold, but hope the ladies may be able to enjoy the charming caroling you must have on your bay and up the Yonge-st. road and to the Humber, and up the Don to Castle Frank (Governor Simcoe's residence), where an early dinner must be picturesque and delightful." "Castle Frank" stood till 1829, when, deserted and uncared for, it was destroyed by fire.

The interest attending the completion of the Parliament buildings was not to be compared to the excitement connected with their formal opening on the occasion of the meeting of the first Legislature within their wooden walls. Six months before, with commendable forethought and prevision, Peter Russell wrote from Newark (on Dec. 14th, 1796):—"As the Legislature is to meet at York the first of June, it becomes absolutely necessary that provision shall be made for their reception without loss of

time. You will therefore be pleased to apprise the inhabitants of the town that twenty-five gentlemen will want lodgings and board during the sessions, which may possibly induce them to fix up their houses, and lay in provisions to accommodate them. Those two detached houses, belonging to the Government House, must, at any rate, be got ready,—the one for the Legislative Council, the other for the Assembly."

"The bars, tables, and other articles belonging to them, I shall direct to be sent over from hence. The house appropriated for the Legislative Council can be occasionally used as a Council Chamber. I beg, likewise, that you desire Mr. Graham to examine the two canvas houses, and report the practicability of removing the best of them to the town, to be raised there for giving dinners in to the members of the two Houses. Mr. Pillington tells me that the screws which fasten them together will no longer act, and that larger ones must be provided if ever they are again removed. We must, therefore, know the expense before the job is undertaken, and calculate whether a temporary building with boards, so constructed as not to injure the materials, may not be cheaper and more commodious" (a lesson in Government economy, truly.) "If this should be the case, the canvas houses may stand, and, with Major Smith's permission, I will consign that quarter to the accommodation of the Chief Justice."

Another side light is thrown on the habits and customs of that early day, by the following order of Governor Simcoe:—

"YORK, 25th June, 1796.

"To John McGill, Esq. SIR,—You are hereby required and directed to purchase from time to time such quantities of rum as may be requisite to give the men employed at work in the water on the wharf and canal at York; and for the so doing, this shall be your order and authority.

"J. G. SIMCOE."

Though Governor Simcoe selected the site, prepared the plans, and directed the construction of the legislative buildings, he had been called to another sphere of action by the time they

were ready for use, he having been transferred to the Governorship of St. Domingo.

Before passing to another stage in our legislative history, it is but fitting to add another humble tribute to Upper Canada's first Governor, who was the founder of much that has endured in the country he served so faithfully for six years, and it is to be hoped that a memorial worthy of the man will some day and soon be erected to his honor in Toronto,—“such a monument and statue” (as the York Pioneers have memorialized), “as would keep in memory forever the first establishment of Parliamentary and Constitutional Government amongst us—the statue being that of the far-sighted statesman and soldier who was the instrument whereby so many benefits were conferred on the Province of Upper Canada, that is to say, on our existing Province of Ontario.”

The inscription upon Simcoe's monument in Exeter Cathedral best describes the man and his work :

SACRED TO THE MEMORY

OF

JOHN GRAVES SIMCOE,

Lieutenant-General in the Army, and Colonel of the Twenty-second Regiment of Foot, who died on the 25th day of October, 1806, aged fifty-four years, in whose life and character the virtues of the hero, the patriot, and the Christian, were so eminently conspicuous that it may be justly said, he served his King and his country with a zeal excelled only by his piety toward God.

The successor of Simcoe was the Honorable Peter Russell, who had come out from England to act, first as his Secretary or Aide, and afterward as his Inspector-General. It was he who convened the first Parliament held in York, which met in June of 1797. It sat for eight weeks, and it is to be hoped that the “twenty-five gentlemen” legislators were provided with “board and lodging” to their satisfaction, and in keeping with their importance and dignity.

His addresses to the Houses contain some interesting paragraphs.

Rumors of invasion were evidently ripe, for in 1799 he says to the members of the Assembly :

"I am happy to inform you that the intelligence communicated to me in the beginning of the winter respecting a combined attack of this Province, said to be in preparation from the side of the Mississippi, turns out to have had little or no foundation. It has, however, had the very pleasing effect of evincing our internal strength to repel any hostile attempt from that quarter; for I cannot sufficiently applaud the very animated exertions of the Lieutenants of counties, and the loyal spirit and zeal exhibited by the militia of the several districts on this occasion, whereby two thousand volunteers from the respective corps thereof were immediately put into a state of readiness to march with their army at a moment to where ever they might be ordered, and I am persuaded that the rest would have soon followed with equal alacrity if their services had been wanted."

Like his predecessor, he also made his Addresses the medium for a little sermonizing, his speech of 1798 concluding as follows: "I must not omit to call upon you for your most zealous exertions in suppressing vice, immorality and profaneness among the people, that by the general practice of true piety and virtue this Province may merit the Divine protection and favor, without which no nation or individual, though ever so mighty, can expect to prosper."

An interesting evidence of the loyalty existing at this time is afforded by a resolution to the King offering His Majesty the surplus of the Provincial revenue (which, by the way, had the honor of being the *first* surplus in the history of the Province,) "for the purposes of the present just and necessary war (with France) and towards the support of his Government."

During the same year the records of the Assembly mentioned a petition from "Darius Dunham and 119 others, members of a Methodist society, praying that Parliament provision the same toleration be extended to them as to other sects in this Province, so as to give validity to their marriages," but the time was not ripe for such an extension of liberty, the motion being negatived by a vote of eight to two; although the tenor of the petition was granted a few sessions afterwards.

The non-attendance of members to their legislative duties became a serious question at this time, and adjournments for lack of a quorum were not infrequent. The House had to deal with the matter, and, during the session of 1798, the absentees were so numerous that, after excusing some on account of illness, three were left who received the formal censure of the House—Timothy Thompson, Thomas Smith and Thomas McKee—"who, in not having attended their duty in Parliament, are highly reprehensible," and notice was given them that if they did not attend their duty more religiously in future a fine would be imposed on them. The same House passed a bill providing "for the expenses of the members while attending their service in Parliament." The public accounts of that year mention £50 as the sum to "reimburse twelve members their travelling expenses."

Another address by Russell during this session contained a reference to Great Britain that is interesting in view of the Home Rule question :

"It is with the sincerest pleasure that I announce to you an event of the utmost importance which has lately taken place in Europe. I mean the union of Great Britain and Ireland. The British nations are now entirely consolidated, and all that seemed wanting to make them all that they are capable of being is attained. Everything that was partial, everything that was local, everything that could recall the recollection that those whom nature intended to be one were distinct, is done away, and the most intimate union is established on the justest and most liberal principles."

Russell acted as President of the Legislative Council and Administrator during three sessions of this second Parliament, and until the arrival, in the latter year, of Peter Hunter, who in turn directed the Administration until 1805. In his absence Chief Justice Elmsley was one of a committee who performed the duties of the office. During these few years York steadily grew. Governor Hunter was followed by the Hon. Alexander Grant as President, till Francis Gore arrived from England as the newly-appointed representative. Like Simcoe, as well as most of his successors, Gore was essentially a soldier-governor, but he differed

from Simcoe in possessing an unbending nature and a tenacity of purpose with which he tried to plant old-world ideas in new-world soil.

Having obtained leave of absence, Gore sailed for England in 1811, leaving the Government in the hands of Sir Isaac Brock as President and Administrator. Not returning to Canada until the close of 1815, Gore was absent during the American invasion. Brock had called Parliament together in the month of February, 1812, when in his opening address he referred to the possible difficulties with the United States. During this same session he issued, through the medium of the House of Assembly, a strongly-worded address to the people of Canada in these terms: "Already have we the joy to remark that the spirit of loyalty has burst forth in all its ancient splendor * * They (the Americans) will tell you that they have come to give you freedom—yes, the base slaves of the most contemptible faction that ever directed the affairs of any nation—the minions of the very sycophants who lick the dust from the feet of Bonaparte, will tell you that they are come to communicate the blessings of liberty to this province, but you have only to look at your situation to put such hypocrites to confusion." The entire population of the province at this time was only 77,000. The work of marshalling his small forces, therefore, as the military commander, against a much greater force, coupled with the duties devolving upon him as the civil administrator of the province, must have severely taxed Brock's executive skill and ability, both of which, however, stood the test.

The legislation during Brock's session included provision for the establishment of a general post throughout the Province, an act to restrain sheriffs from packing juries, and another to prevent desertion by granting a bounty for apprehending deserters, while the first petitions were presented praying for the privilege of voting by ballot.

Brock's career reached an untimely end by his death on the 13th of October, 1812, his successor being General Sheaffe. In April, 1813, the first direct effects of the war were felt in the new capital. On the 27th day of that month, a force of 1,600

Americans, under General Dearborn, reached the shores of the little town, having crossed the lake from Sackett's Harbor. The American force burned all the public buildings, including the parliament buildings erected in 1796, and which, therefore, had a life of nearly seventeen years. It is said that when the Americans entered the Legislative Chamber, before applying the torch to it, they found a human scalp suspended directly over the Speaker's chair. It was regarded as a choice trophy, and was presented to General Dearborn, who passed it on to the Secretary at Washington. The startling prize, however, ultimately turned out to be but a periwig or official peruke left behind by its owner, who it is presumed, as well as hoped, had one to take its place. The loss of the legislative buildings was small compared to the loss of the library, and all the state papers and records, which were destroyed. The Americans only remained in occupation for four days, the troops re-embarking in their flotilla of fourteen vessels for their return voyage to Fort George.

An aged resident of Ottawa, Mrs. Seymour, is able to call to memory the burning of the parliament buildings, and all the stirring events connected with the capture of the little settlement.

Sixteen annual sessions were held in these pioneer buildings before their destruction. The comparative harmony and absence of partisan spirit that characterized the first Newark parliament, unfortunately ended with that parliament, for party strife and its consequent bickerings then began to make its appearance. An interesting light is thrown on the legislative life of the period mentioned by the Hon. Richard Cartwright, who for twenty-three years was a member of the Legislative Council, he being, as will be remembered, one of the original appointees in 1792. During the session of 1801 the election of a Speaker gave rise to considerable intrigue as between two rival candidates, and the session began "with a considerable degree of warmth," as a chronicler cautiously puts it. A disputed election also gave rise to much acrimonious discussion. Justice Alcock, the sitting member, whose election was voided because of the "unwarrantable steps taken to secure his election, was re-

quested to withdraw from the House during the discussion of his case, but he replied he would not do so "unless they threw him out neck and heels," and, as this extreme was not resorted to, he kept his seat during the debate. The fact, too, that a judge of the Court of King's Bench could be a candidate for a seat in a popular assembly, illustrates the radical change in methods and precedents that have since been brought about.

Mr. Cartwright also gives an interesting picture of the sessions of the first parliament in his published letters, in which he gives a résumé of the legislation effected. He mentions the comparatively unknown fact that "the river Tranke (the old name of the river Thames) is still talked of as the seat of government," only to strongly oppose it, however, his favorite site being at Kingston, between which place and the boundary line of the two provinces lay the greatest mass of the population. Writing during the session of 1793 (held in Newark) he tells his correspondent, "For my part I begin to be disgusted with politics," for the reason amongst others that instead of sitting down cordially together to form regulations solely for the public good, he found the government disposed to "calculate their measures as much with a view to patronage and private endowment as the prosperity of the colony." He added: "Such a policy, if persisted in and pushed very far, will unquestionably be sowing the seeds of evil discord, and perhaps laying the foundation of future revolutions."

Conflicts between the Legislative Council and the Assembly during the sessions in York were quite as common as the dissensions in the latter, so much so as to occasion "the different branches of the legislature to separate in very ill humor." One great subject of disagreement was the refusal of the council to allow the assemblymen to be paid their per diem allowance, or "wages" as they were termed, of 10s. from the provincial fund instead of by a direct assessment on their constituents. It was argued that if payment were made from the provincial coffers, the legislators would be tempted to unduly prolong their parliamentary labors.

Again in 1807 the House of Assembly experienced stormy times. Mr. Thorpe was evidently the disturbing element in this

session by his allusions to revolution, which were regarded as highly treasonable, and in various "factious measures couched in insidious and inflammatory language." Thorpe was another case of one of His Majesty's judges occupying a dual rôle on the judiciary and in parliament.

During the session of 1808, Joseph Wilcocks, a printer, was imprisoned by the order of the House for "an impudent libel" on the Lieutenant-Governor and Assembly, only to be elected in 1809 to the House, without opposition. "It is much to be regretted that every demagogue has a probable chance of obtaining a seat in this House," is the despairing complaint of a disgusted legislator of that day.

The session of 1808 witnessed a peculiar scene, when three or four of the members abruptly left for their distant homes with a determination to put a stop to the business of the session, rather than submit to the intention of the majority to carry a bill regarding the establishment of schools. The Lieutenant-Governor, as a punishment, took from them some government appointments they held, but despite this evidence of vice-regal displeasure, every one of the offending members was returned at the next election. "Amidst all these perplexities," however, much useful legislation was passed from year to year. The legislative council was reorganized at this time by its reduction from nine to five members, and vacancies were filled so as to give proper weight and influence as a counterpoise to the "rashness" of the lower house. For Sir Francis Gore, who was now Lieutenant-Governor, these were worrying times. He complained of being miserably disappointed in his Attorney-General (Mr Firth), "a man who," he said "has the most ungovernable temper that ever man was cursed with, but is withal self-sufficient, mercenary and rapacious."

Before leaving these original Parliament Buildings in York, it is perhaps well to record here the fact of the duel before referred to that took place at the rear of the buildings, between John Small, Clerk of the Executive Council, and Attorney-General John White. The latter was shot in the hip and soon died: the former was indicted for murder, but was acquitted. This tragic affair occurred on January 3rd, 1800.



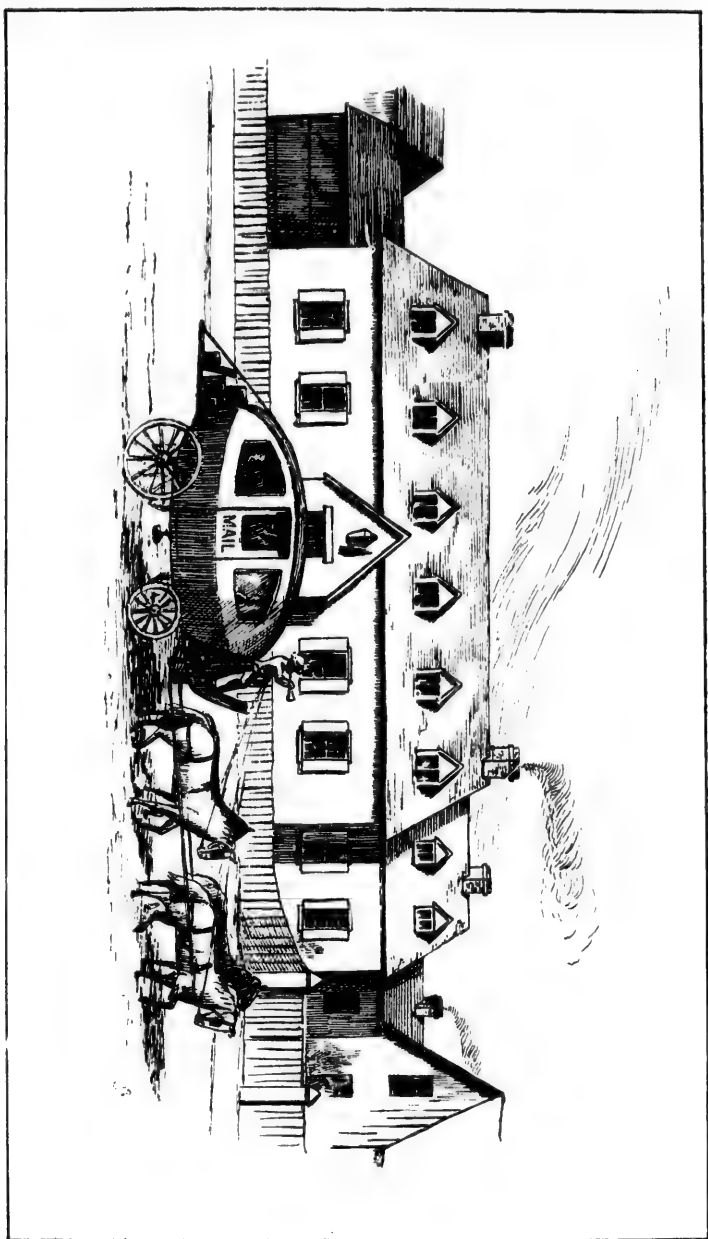
CHAPTER III.

THE SECOND PARLIAMENT BUILDINGS AND TEMPORARY QUARTERS.

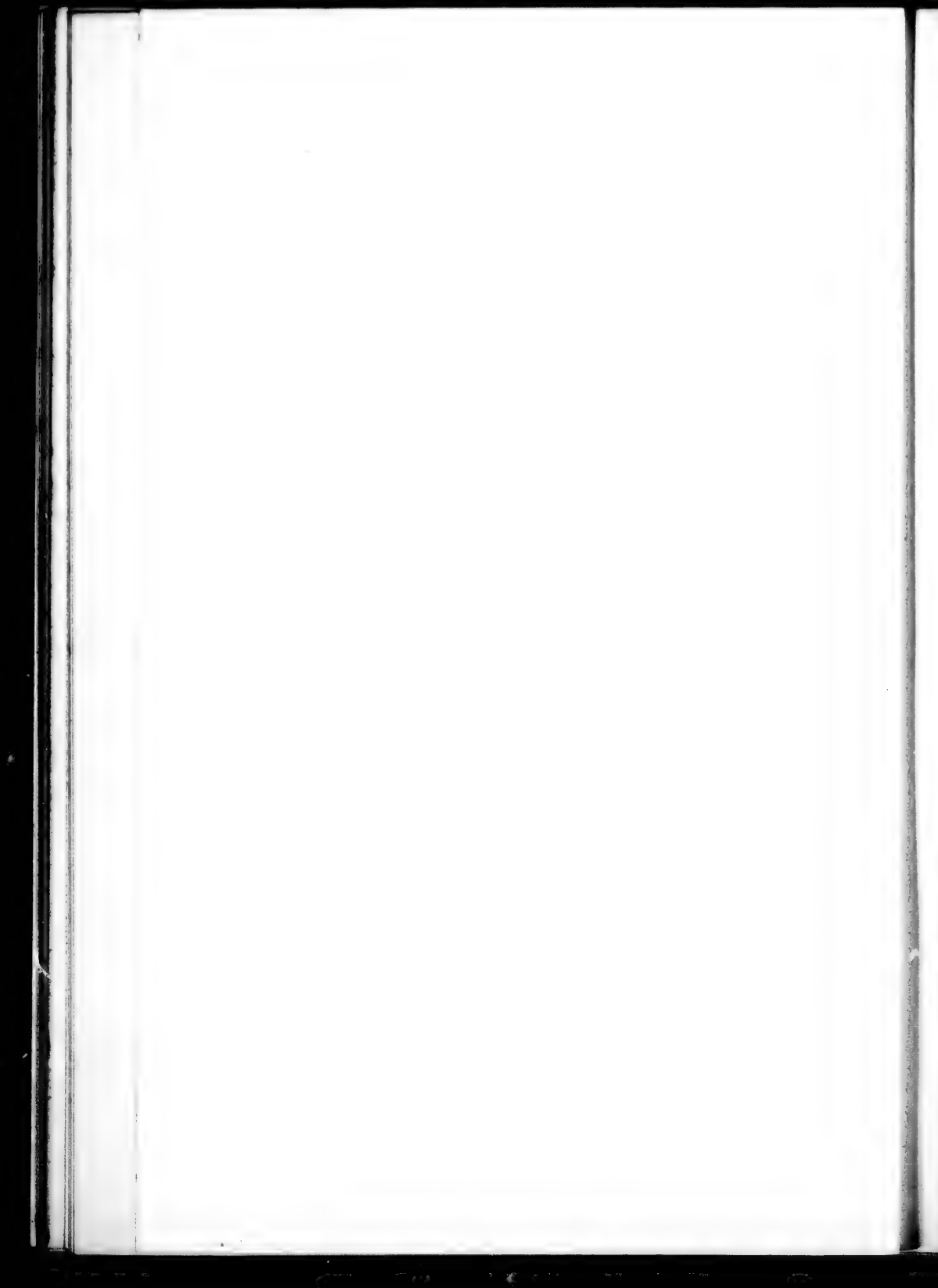
1813-1832.

TOWARD the close of 1813, Lieutenant-Governor Sir Gordon Drummond arrived at York, and assumed military and civil control of the Province. Parliament was called for the following February, the first session being held in the "ball room," as it was called, of Jordan's York Hotel, which stood on King-street near Berkeley-street. It was a first-class house of entertainment in its day, and the legislators regarded their temporary quarters as something palatial.

The records of this first session after the war naturally contain many references to that event. The Lieutenant-Governor, in his speech from the Throne, voiced "his most devout gratitude to the Divine Providence, which seems to have manifested an especial protection to the righteous cause of our defence against an enemy unprovoked and implacable, who, at the moment they were exulting in the assurances of their commander that the conquest of the Canadas was achieved, were arrested in their progress to invade our sister province, and their collective force discomfited by a handful of British troops, who drove them in dismay to seek refuge on their own shores. With no less gallantry in another quarter a small band of British soldiers attacked and carried by storm the Fortress of Niagara, the strongest and most formidable position they held on our frontier. In advancing to this enterprise the troops beheld with indignation the smoking ruins of the town of Niagara, which an atrocious



Jordan's York Hotel, where the Legislature met in 1814.



policy had devoted to the flames. Resentful of the misery brought upon the innocent but too credulous inhabitants, who had remained until the last moment under a promise of protection to their persons and property, the army inflicted a severe retaliation in the entire destruction of the whole frontier, from Lake Erie to Lake Ontario, after defeating a very superior force of the enemy. Thus the valor of our soldiers and citizens has proved what can be effected in a good cause by men who have nothing in view but their own honor and the country's welfare."

No less congratulatory were his remarks on the conquest of Britain's red-coats in other lands. "His Majesty's arms, united with those of Spain and Portugal, under the command of Field Marshal the Marquis of Wellington, have rescued the Peninsula from its invaders, whilst the northern powers of Europe have overwhelmed and destroyed Napoleon's immense armies and compelled him to retire into the bosom of France."

One of the afterclaps of the war is recorded in the annals of the session of 1814, when the names of seventeen members were called as being present, while seven were absent, as follows:—

McDonell, Alex., prisoner with the enemy; Wilson, Jno., sick; Marle, Abraham, and Willcocks, Jos., deserted to the enemy; Clench, Ralph; McGregor, Jno.; McCormack, Wm., prisoners with the enemy.

The House thereupon resolved that "sufficient evidence having been offered to this House of the traitorous and disloyal desertion of Joseph Willcocks, one of its members, to the enemy, and of his actually having borne arms against His Majesty's Government, that this House, entertaining the utmost abhorrence of his infamous conduct, which has rendered him incapable of sitting or voting in this House, do declare his seat vacant, and that he shall no longer be considered a member thereof."

Abraham Marle was also treated to a similar resolution, and Sir Gordon expressed his opinion that "it has been more a subject of regret than surprise to have found two members of the Legislative body in the ranks of the enemy. A due regard to the interest of the loyal subject requires that means should be adopted to punish such traitors as adhere to the enemy, by the

confiscation of their estates, all such forfeitures to be applied to the relief of sufferers by the war within the Province."

Still another point touched upon by the King's representative, was the suggestion to "give justice to those who have gallantly hazarded their lives in defence of the Province, by taxing those who, from religious scruples, abstain from war, at a higher rate than heretofore," the Quakers being here referred to.

After the occupancy for one session of the ball-room of Jordan's Hotel, several succeeding sessions were held in a residence, occupied in after years by Chief Justice Draper, known as The Lawn, and which stood at the north-west corner of Wellington and York-streets. It was hidden from the public view by a fence and a row of old trees, including a huge weeping willow.

In September, 1815, Gore returned from England and again assumed the reins of government, Jordan's name being among those affixed to an "address of welcome." Notwithstanding this assurance of good-will, considerable ill-feeling seems to have existed against the Downing-street representative on the part of his parliament; indeed, during one of the sessions he took umbrage at some of the projected measures of the House, and declared he "would dismiss the rascals," a threat which he carried out to the letter, by going down to the House in his ordinary undress garb, and sending them home with a few words, as strong as they were uncourtly, ringing in their ears.

That he had not a few friends as well as some popularity among the members is evidenced by the passage of the famous Spoon Bill in the session of 1815, the act voting £3,000 sterling for a service of plate for their returned Governor, "in perpetual remembrance of the people's gratitude." This large sum stands out in striking contrast to a vote of but £800, during the same session, for the establishment of a parliamentary library to replace the one burnt in 1813.

The session of 1816 was signalized by the passage of several useful measures, the most important being the extension of the public school system. The Governor congratulated the Upper House on "its provision for the dissemination of letters in this Infant Colony, which must secure to you the gratitude and ven-

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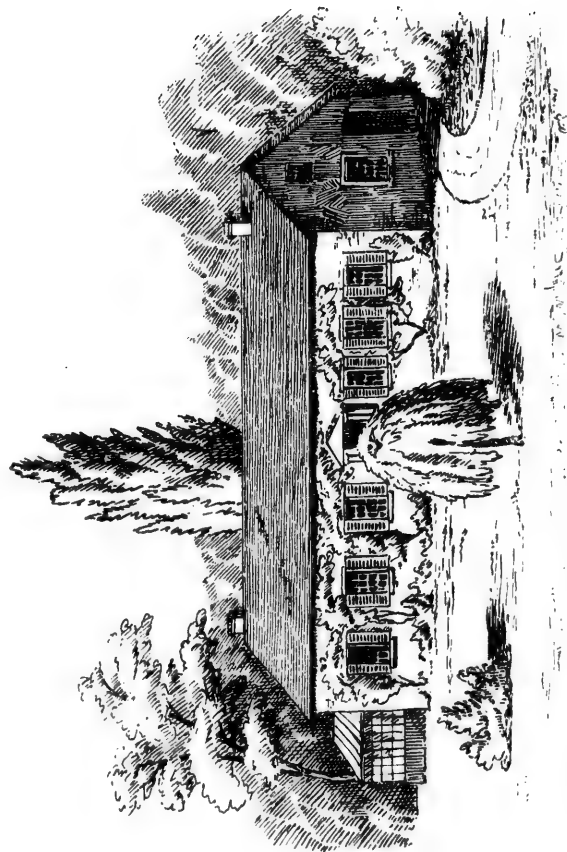
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Chief Justice Draper's Residence where the Legislative Assembly and Council met.

eration of the rising and future generations, while the wisdom of your determination to leave the regulation of Commercial Duties and Drawbacks to His Majesty's Executive Government of this Province, until the Imperial Parliament decides upon them, cannot be called in question."

The session of 1817 was the last over which Sir Francis Gore had jurisdiction. Among the first of the motions to be passed was one which throws a side light on the relations between the House and the Governor, when they demanded from the latter "the rights and privileges of this House as amply as they are enjoyed by the House of Commons in Great Britain." In his last address to his Parliament, Gore claims that the United Kingdom has attained the summit of national prosperity, "its last act being to compel the abolition of Christian Slavery in the piratical States of Barbary, to whose tyranny the chief nations of Europe had submitted for ages."

The Hon. Samuel Smith acted as Administrator and delivered the inaugural speech of the session of 1818, wherein he suggests an appropriation to assist emigrants to leave the United Kingdom and settle in the new Province. He also refers to the fact that a sum had been set apart during a previous session toward the erection of legislative buildings (to replace those destroyed five years' previously), but that it had been appropriated for the defence of the Province, and advises "the knights, citizens and burgesses" who formed the assembly to replace that sum, and to increase it for the same object, to all of which his dutiful subjects acceded.

The closing address of the Administrator reveals increasing signs of friction between the Upper and Lower Houses. When he called them together he said it was in full expectation that they would assiduously labor to bring up any arrears of public business, and he regretted the more to have experienced disappointment, and "finding no probability of any concert between the two Houses," he concludes: "I come reluctantly to close the session with its business unfinished. I do most earnestly entreat you to weigh well, during the recess, the important effects of such a disunion, and that you may meet resolved to conciliate

and be useful." The Journals of 1818 contain a series of resolutions that passed between the two Houses as to their respective functions and assumption of powers and privileges which makes interesting reading even though the anomaly has long since been discarded. In replying to the Legislative Council, the Assembly asserted that the resolutions of the former "excite emotions of the highest interest, being in their essence pregnant with principles subversive of the exercise of the functions of the Representative Body of the People, nor would the House yield to the impression that it would ever be induced by weak example to compromise its undoubted and invaluable rights;" and as a further reply to the Upper Chamber, the incensed parliamentarians ordered reprinted in the Journals the opening and closing address of Simcoe, at the first session of 1792, when he outlined the duties and privileges of the popular House. Harmony seems to have been restored by the next session, when the resolutions and counter resolutions above mentioned were ordered to be expunged from the Journals, and thus the hatchet was buried. Perhaps this magnanimous action was the result of the Lieutenant-Governor's appeal to the members of both Houses, "to recollect the celebrity of their proceedings. These considerations, enlightened manners, and the beneficial influences of religion will no doubt regulate the intercourse between your august assemblies," was the placatory tone which he used.

A second session was convened on October 12th, 1818, when Sir Peregrine Maitland made his first appearance as the King's deputy, the cause assigned for the extra session being the total want of funds to meet the exigencies of the State. He surmised, however, that, in the course of their investigations into the wants of the Province, the members "would feel a just indignation at the attempts which have been made to excite discontent and to organize sedition. Should it appear to them," he added, "that a Convention of Delegates cannot exist without danger to the constitution, in framing a law of prevention, your dispassionate wisdom will be careful that it shall not unwarily trespass on that sacred right of the subject by such a redress of his grievances by petition."

In the address in response the House stated that it was to be remembered that this favored land was assigned to their fathers as a retreat for suffering loyalty, and not a sanctuary for sedition, and deeply lamented that the insidious designs of one factious individual should have succeeded in drawing into the support of his vile machinations so many honest men and loyal subjects of His Majesty. Robert Gourlay was the offender referred to, who was banished in 1819, after a long imprisonment. "An Act to prevent certain meetings within this Province," or "the gagging bill" as it was nick-named, was one of the steps taken by the assembly to prevent free discussion.

Sir Peregrine Maitland, the presiding genius of provincial affairs sent out from England, in succession to Governor Gore, occupied the position for the comparatively long period of ten years. Like his predecessor, he had little sympathy with the Canadian people, and, as a consequence, never enjoyed a popularity such as Governor Simcoe won. He is described as a true type of an English aristocrat, his tall, soldier-like figure giving him a dignity in keeping with his position.

By the establishment of his miniature court at Government House, the cleavage began between the rulers and the ruled, which resulted in the establishment of what afterward became "The Family Compact," which was destined to play such an important part in the history of the Province. The Governor and his cabinet controlled the appointments to the Legislative and Executive Councils, and this fact also served to lay the foundation for the conflict which ended in the uprising twenty years after.

The formal opening of Parliament under Sir Peregrine's régime was an imposing affair when, amid the thunders of cannon and the cheers of the crowd of colonists, the Lieutenant-Governor with immaculate periwig, a glittering sword and a gorgeous uniform, was only less imposing than the scarlet uniformed officers of the garrison who composed the guard of honor. To-day the pageantry of state is sadly democratic, the cannon is silenced, the periwig has disappeared, and only a scant display of gold lace and brass buttons takes the place of the gorgeous spectacle of 1820.

It was during the session of 1818 that work was begun on the

new House of Parliament, which was completed in 1820. Two "managers of public buildings" were appointed, Peter Robinson and Grant Powell, who reported to the House in 1819, as follows: "The undersigned beg leave to submit to the Honorable House of Assembly their proceedings as managers to carry into effect the wishes of the two Houses, relative to the erection of suitable buildings for their accommodation. The accompanying letter of Mr. Secretary Hillier will show the authority under which they have engaged in the undertaking, and they have to state that, in compliance with the request therein conveyed, they proceeded without delay to close with the lowest proposals for such a building, together with the old brick buildings repaired, which would, in their opinion, afford all the accommodation at present actually required for the convenience of the Legislature, at the same time keeping in view the probability of more extensive provision for that purpose being necessary at some future day. The contract was closed with Mr. Jonathan Cassels, who immediately proceeded to lay in material, and has already made some progress in the repairs of the old buildings. The contract, with plan in detail of the building, is herewith submitted, in which it will be seen that no prejudice will accrue to the contracting parties by any deviation of the plan therein agreed on." To which report the House assented.

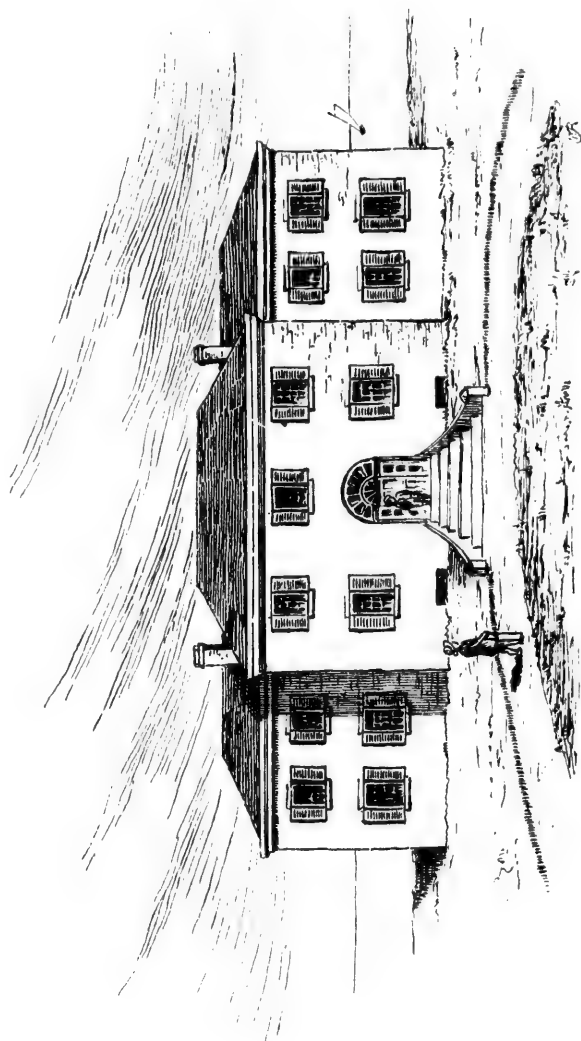
The structure was as plain as its predecessor, but the growth and prosperity of the capital was shown in its being built of brick instead of wood. It occupied the site of the old gaol which, until a few years ago, was a landmark near the corner of King and Berkeley-streets. In Talbot's "Five Years in Canada" he describes the new structure as "a long and commodious building, built with brick and with much simplicity." As early as 1804, and before the destruction of the original buildings, a surgeon of the 49th regiment, named Walsh, designed a plan for a new House of Assembly, to be of wood and brick and to cost £1,000 a story, but it was never carried out.

"The public buildings that were destroyed," says Dr. Scadding "were replaced, about the year 1818, by others more extensive, and of a more imposing character, but situated on the same spot ;

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Parliament Buildings erected in 1820; burned in 1824.

and here the Parliament continued to hold its sessions down to the year 1824, when they were again totally destroyed, but this time not by the hand of an invading foe, but by a fire originating in an over-heated flue. These buildings I myself well remember, having more than once witnessed the pageantry attendant on the opening of the House by the Lieutenant-Governor of the day, Sir Peregrine Maitland, pageantry humble enough, no doubt, but then appearing very magnificent."

It was on the night of the 30th December, 1824, that the Parliament Buildings were again destroyed by fire, this time accidentally, as Dr. Scadding has said, a defect in the flues being the cause. The loss was estimated at £2,000. The furniture and library were fortunately saved, but some of the House journals were lost.

In January of the following year, Parliament met in the old General Hospital, which stood between King-street and Hospital-street (now Richmond-street) just west of the old Upper Canada College. The Hospital had the honor of being the most important building in the Province at that time. "It was two stories in height, of red brick, 107 feet long by 66 feet wide, with a flattish-hipped roof, a conveniently designed interior, and recessed galleries on the north and south sides. It stood with its four sides facing precisely the four cardinal points of the compass." It has, it is needless to say, long since disappeared.

The three succeeding sessions, viz., of 1825-6, 1827 and 1828, were held in the Hospital, a vote of £100 being made annually for its use, which the Home District was called upon to pay. The urgent need of the Hospital for its original purpose caused another change, the old Court House, which occupied, with the gaol, the block bordered by King, Church, Court and Toronto-sts being selected as the temporary home of the Legislature during the sessions of 1829, 1830, and 1831-2, when the new buildings on Front-street were ready for occupancy. In the journals of 1831 appears an item of £108 17s. 1d. for expenses incurred in using the Court House for the accommodation of the Legislature for the two previous sessions.

The four sessions held in the second Parliament Buildings were turbulent in spirit, though important in results. As Dr. Scadding

says: "Here it was the first skirmishes took place in the great war of principles which afterwards with such determination and effect was fought out in Canada. Here it was that first loomed up before the minds of our early law-makers the ecclesiastical question, the educational question, the constitutional question. Here it was that first was heard the open discussion, childlike, indeed, and vague, but pregnant with very weighty consequences, of topics, social and national, which, at the time, even in the parent state itself, were mastered but by few." The chief cause of bitterness and animosity was the heated election trials, the House forming itself into a Contested Election Court. Early in the session of 1821, a petition was presented to the House in connection with the election of Barnabas Bidwell as Member for Lennox and Addington, in which the petitioners held that "his character was such as to render him utterly unworthy of the high honor of sitting in your august House," based on an alleged misapplication of public funds when he was a resident of Massachusetts ten years before. The House thereupon constituted itself an election court, as has been said, with the result that Bidwell was allowed to retain his seat; indeed, his eloquent advocacy of his own case no doubt had much to do with the decision of the members. But those opposed to him finally triumphed in the passage of a Bill "to render ineligible to a seat in the Commons House of Assembly of this Province, certain descriptions of persons therein mentioned," which accomplished the expulsion of the elected Member, who, however, had the satisfaction of seeing his son, Marshall Spring Bidwell, elected in his stead. The latter, however, had an even more stormy experience when, on a new election being held, the returning officer refused to accept any votes for him, on the ground that he was an alien. Another protest and election followed, and young Bidwell was elected for the third time (an experience not unlike that William Lyon Mackenzie went through years after), continuing to sit in Parliament for eleven successive years.

The debates of the quartette of sessions from 1820-4 were also but samples and forerunners of the acrimonious discussions that have been heard in the old Front-street buildings. Attorney-

General Robinson is described as exhibiting "a perfect whirlwind of rage and fiery indignation" in dealing with the case of Barnabas Bidwell, an example which others, no doubt, followed on both sides of the House. Changes in public opinion were, however, as rapid as they were radical. The "Gagging Bill," of 1819, as "the Act to prevent certain meetings within the Province," was called, was repealed in 1820, and the Act of 1821, already referred to, aimed at the senior Bidwell, was practically repealed in 1824.

Between 1824 and 1832 a number of men appeared in the House, chiefly after the election of 1824, who have received the title of "Fathers of Reform" from their Liberal successors—John Rolph, Captain John Matthews, Peter Perry, John Willson, William Lyon Mackenzie, Robert Baldwin, and many others, who waged many an oratorical battle with their antagonists on the Conservative benches, in the days when the House met in the old Hospital and Court House. With the first definite formation of a Reform party, came more exciting discussions and contests, each a keen struggle for the best exhibition of party power. The election of Speaker usually tested their strength. On one occasion, in 1824, John Willson, the member for Wentworth, was chosen Speaker by a Reform majority of two—a sign to them that the power of the Family Compact had begun to wane. So intense became the feeling that a mob destroyed the office of William Lyon Mackenzie's paper. The tension was further increased by the reply of the Legislature to one of Governor Maitland's addresses, wherein he was censured for receiving and replying to addresses reflecting on the Legislative Assembly. To this he promptly retorted that while they (the Legislature) were treating him with scant courtesy, he was fully justified in the part he was taking.

A curious evidence of the antagonistic feeling toward the Americans was evinced during the session of 1826. A performance was given in the little theatre of York, which was attended by most of the members, who probably welcomed a change from the dry routine of their legislative duties. The orchestra played several lively British tunes, when someone called for Yankee Doodle and Hail Columbia, as a compliment to a few American

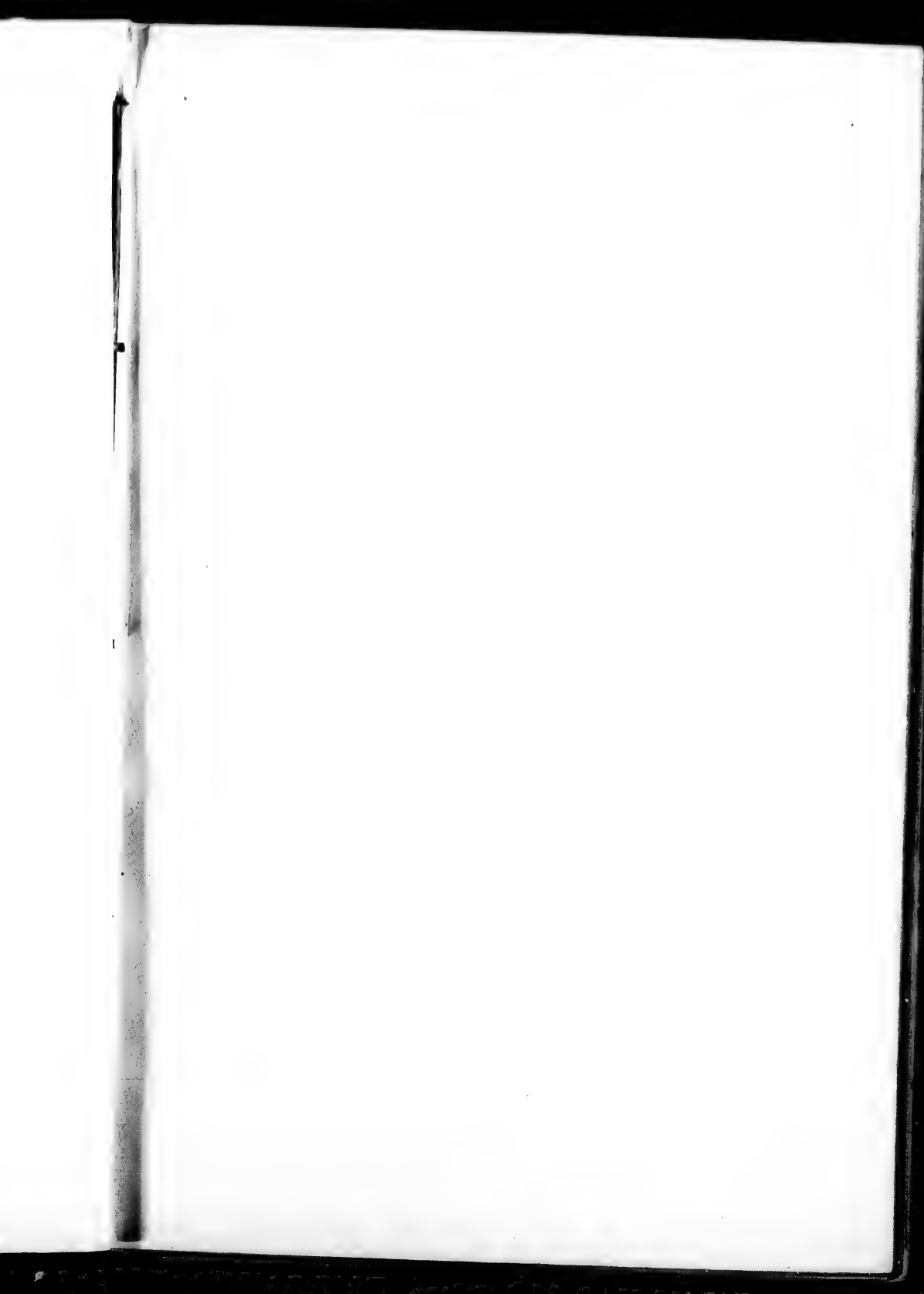
visitors who were present. The response was complied with and all went well, but when the House met on the following Monday, before the doors were open to the public, one of the members arose, and with due solemnity charged a fellow member, Capt. Matthews, with requesting the Yankee Doodle song. Such a disloyal act called for instant investigation. A Committee of Privilege was at once appointed, which met for three consecutive nights, when scores were summoned as witnesses, the result being the acquittal of the suspected member. This, however, was not the end of the matter. News of the affair reached the ears of the "Master-General of Ordnance" at Quebec, who summoned the poor legislator to the far distant city, to explain his "utterly disloyal and disgraceful conduct" for having "in a riotous and outrageous manner called for the national airs and tunes of the United States." The latter, being a retired captain, was amenable to military authority. Matthews urged the time-honored member's privilege of non-arrest, but the Lieutenant-Governor pooh-poohed the defence, and ordered the offender to obey the mandate from his superior officer. There was nothing left but to obey. Having reached the ancient city, he laid the evidence of acquittal before the military tribunal and secured a second release, but his enemies succeeded in having his pension stopped, which caused him great pecuniary distress. One may safely conclude, however, that he had strong grounds for pronouncing anathema upon Yankee Doodle for the rest of his life.

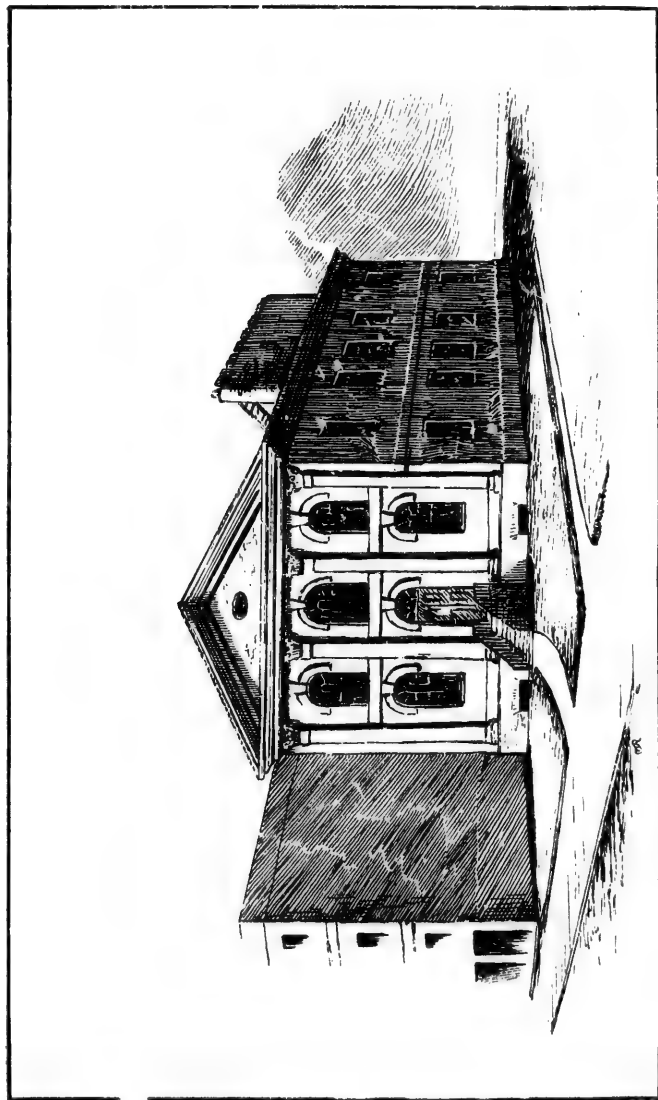
Among the Acts passed during the session of 1826, was one entitled "The Whipping and Pillory Abolition Bill," thus putting an end to the few public exhibitions of that kind which disgraced the justice of the early days of York.

A radical change of ideas regarding parliamentary decorum has taken place since 1828. In the session of that year a Mr. Morris moved "that it be resolved, that upon a vote or passage of any bill or measure, to express approbation or satisfaction by standing on the floor of this House and in a tumultuous manner giving loud huzzas, is a breach of parliamentary decorum and unbecoming the dignity of a deliberative assembly." Bidwell succeeded in securing an amendment, "that this House understands that in

The Old Hospital, temporarily used as Parliament Buildings in 1835-28.







Old Court House, used temporarily as Parliament Buildings in 1829-31.

the House of Commons in Great Britain it is not unusual to carry a great and interesting question with acclamations." The mover of the original motion made another effort to put his motion, "that it is not the opinion of this House, that parliamentary usage warrants the huzzaing in a tumultuous manner by the members standing up in their place and waving their hats, and that this House will hereafter consider as irregular and disorderly such a mode of expressing their opinions or feelings." Such resolutions read oddly in these latter days, when the passage of a famous bill makes a "famous scene" for the historian, and when "tumultuous huzzaing" is indulged in to the full.





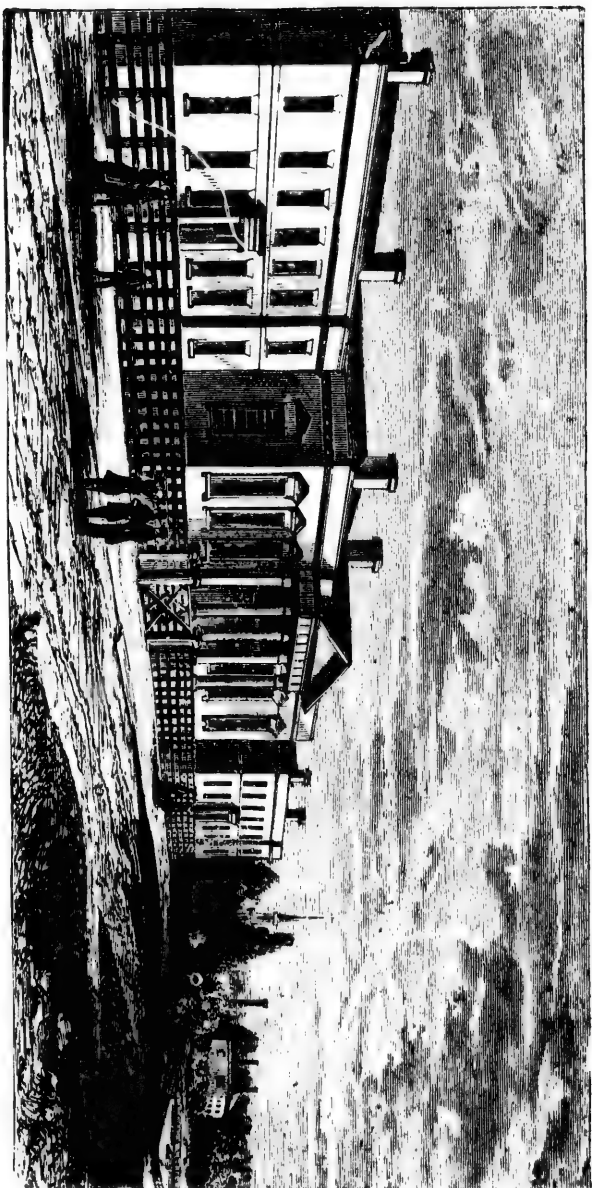
CHAPTER IV.

THE INCEPTION AND ERECTION OF THE OLD PARLIAMENT BUILDINGS ON FRONT STREET.

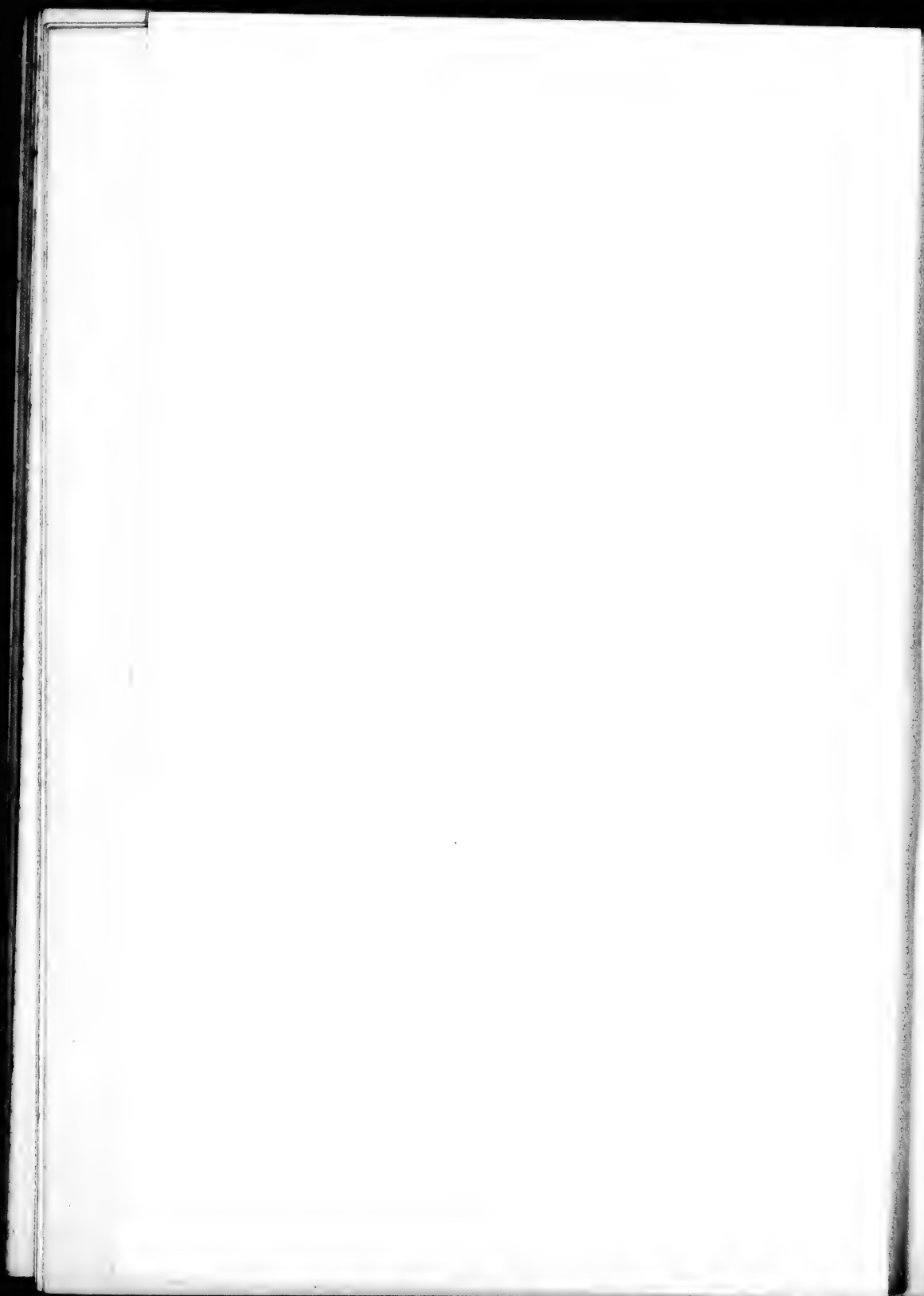
1826-1832.

THE first step toward the erection of the Parliament Buildings that stand on Front-street, was taken in the session of 1825, when three Commissioners were appointed by the Upper and Lower House to deal with the question, the result being that as a preliminary step they "resolved to offer by public advertisement a sum of money as a reward for the most approved plan, elevation and design for the required buildings." Many handsome architectural designs were, according to the report of the Commissioner, submitted, the premium being awarded to a Mr. Nixon. Later, four plans and estimates were put in by Nixon himself, and by Baldwin, Ford, and Ewart. The following year, 1826, the matter was advanced by the passage of an Act "to authorize the raising by debenture a sum of money to be applied in erecting buildings for the use of the Legislature." The Hon. William Allan, William Thompson and Grant Powell comprised the Commission. An architect named Rogers afterward tendered a plan and estimates for the erection of the buildings for a sum between £6,000 and £7,000. He was thereupon asked to reduce his estimate to £4,000, but £5,300 was the lowest figure he could be induced to name.

This amount was still deemed too large by the Legislature, and it came to the conclusion, by a resolution passed during the session of 1828, "That the sum voted by the Legislature for the erection of public buildings is insufficient to defray the ex-



Parliament Buildings, Front Street, as they appeared when first erected in 1832.



pense of the work upon a scale corresponding with the respectability of the Province and the suitable accommodation of the Parliament"; and a second resolution read: "That the limited resources of the Legislature will not warrant at present a further grant for this object, and that it is expedient to defer the commencement of the buildings until the public revenue shall enable the Parliament to apply ample means for the proper completion of the work," and, with true Legislative economy, a Select Committee was appointed to see whether a roof could not be put on the ruined walls of the old buildings burned in 1824.

In May, 1829, the following advertisement appeared in the columns of the *Loyalist*: "PARLIAMENT BUILDINGS.—Sealed tenders for erecting buildings for the Legislature at York, will be received on the first Monday of June next. Plans, elevations, and specifications of the buildings may be seen after the 14th day of May next, on application to Grant Powell, from whom further information may be received." The *Loyalist* informed its readers that "the new Parliament House will stand in Simcoe Place, a square containing six acres, a very fine situation, facing the Bay, and in front of Government House."

On the 30th July, 1829, a contract was drawn between the Commissioners and Matthew Priestman, to erect the buildings, and find all materials, for the sum of £5,400, and to have them ready for the Legislature by the 1st January, 1831. Priestman, however, failed in his contract, after having made sub-contracts with Joseph Turton, a mason, and James Crowther, a carpenter. Turton and Crowther were allowed to proceed with their part of the work, but according to a report of a committee of the House, made during the session of 1832, "The building has so far been conducted in a way very unsatisfactory," and the committee further remarked that "great blame is attributable to the Commissioners for curtailing the sum in the contract so much below the sum appropriated by the Legislature," viz., £10,000.

John Ewart was, on the failure of Priestman, authorized to superintend the work. Priestman had received £1,000 on his contract before failing, while Turton had received some £6,000 more, and yet the building was not finished, while Turton and

Crowther demanded £1,750 beyond what they had received. The committee closed their report with the opinion that £1,300 would complete the structure. The Hon. Mr. Allan was allowed to put in a statement in explanation, laying the blame for the curtailment of the expenditure decided upon, on Sir John Colborne, who expressed himself averse to a greater sum than £5,000 being expended in such a building. According to Mr. Allan's report, a person by the name of Nixon was among the first to tender a plan and estimates for erecting buildings of stone or brick—£15,000 for the former, and £11,000 for the latter. He concludes; "The two Houses approved and adopted the plan and estimate for the larger sum, but recommended delay in commencing the work, as the finances of the country did not seem to justify so great an expenditure at that time."

The amount received from the Treasury from 1826 to 1831 totalled £7,000. On January 20th, 1832, £3,000 additional was granted by the Legislature to complete the building.

The public accounts of 1831 contain the details of the expenditure in connection with the building. Some of the items read oddly to-day. "Freight of stone from the Head of Lake" was £16 10s. It cost £19 to cover the drain leading from the building; £20 "for digging and stoning Well;" £6 "for levelling the ravine in front of the building"; an Indian broom is entered at four-pence; a cord of wood for the clerk's office cost 15s.; 8s. 6d. was paid "for hauling (4) loads stuff from the lake." Cedar joists were evidently in great demand, and a queer combination of "stationery and white lead" is entered under one sum.

As an outcome of the retarded progress in the construction of the buildings, and the failures of contractors, many extra claims were made against the Government, and a Special Committee, composed of Alexander McDonnell, James Fitzgibbon, and David A. Macnab, investigated these in 1833, and recommended the payment of £1,654 of the £1,889 claimed. The work of construction was completed by men paid by the day, Duncan Kennedy, a builder, being appointed superintendent. The Commission also reported that £1,800 more would be required to finish the building in a proper manner, and "to construct an area to the

east and west facades of the portico around it ;" to cover the roof with tin at a cost of £508, which they regarded "as indispensable for the safety of the building, which has already once narrowly escaped burning by a spark from one of the chimnies which fell upon the shingles." The freestone used in the columns of the portico were quarried near Hamilton, shipped by sleighs to the edge of Burlington Bay, and transhipped to York on the opening of navigation. In the old designs, there are pillars and a pediment at the main entrance, which were never carried out, and I am told these pillars still lie in the quarries.

The original building consisted of a centre, 133x90 feet, and two wings, 90x55 feet, the latter being forty feet distant from the centre. In 1849 these spaces were enclosed, forming the Speaker's rooms on the east and committee rooms on the west. The Legislative Chamber was 46x55 feet, and the original Legislative Council Chamber (latterly the library) 44x54 feet. The basement rooms were used as vaults, and for a time as legislative offices. At that time the building was thought to be a marvel of architectural skill, and the press of the day gave glowing accounts and long descriptions of "its magnificent length, its noble façade and its handsome apartments." What was latterly the library was then utilized as the Legislative Council room, or the "Family Compact Room," as it was dubbed at that time, the queer upper story portion at the rear (lately used by the Queen's Printer) being the library and reading room.

Only the limits of a large volume could do adequate justice to the history enacted within these old walls during the sixty years and more of their existence. Between the opening of the first Parliament in 1832, and the prorogation of the last that was held within its Chamber, scores of important questions and subjects have been agitated, debated, and brought to pass. The struggle for responsible government ended long ago in victory ; the secularization of the clergy reserves was consummated under its roof—the bill being passed in the session of 1858 ; elections have to a large degree been purified ; manhood suffrage has taken the place of the old-time restrictions of the franchise ; education has made marvellous advances ; villages have grown into towns, towns have

expanded into cities, and hundreds of hamlets have risen over the land ; the province has increased in population until it numbers over two million souls, and, instead of the fifteen assemblymen elected for the first Upper Canadian Parliament in 1792, ninety-one now constitutes the Provincial Legislature.



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Old Parliament Buildings, Front Street, 1892.



CHAPTER V.

THE FRONT-STREET PARLIAMENT BUILDINGS IN DIFFERENT RÔLES.

NOT only has the old structure served the State as its House of Parliament, but it has been a Court of Law, a College, and a Barracks and Arsenal during the stirring times of 1837, or the "flare up," as Sir Francis Bond Head described it. Two or three days after the rebel uprising at Montgomery's Farm, Sir Francis, becoming convinced that matters were taking a serious turn, removed his headquarters from the old town hall to the Parliament Buildings, where, also, the available stock of arms and ammunition was stored. The old brick pile was thus placed in a state of barricade and the march of the picket was heard around its walls. During every hour of the day reinforcements were coming in from the adjacent centres. The old steamer *Traveller* brought a detachment from Niagara, while the *Burlington* landed a contingent from Hamilton; Port Credit, Whitby, Cobourg, and other villages also sent their quota. The little town was soon crowded to overflowing with these bands of raw recruits, and the open space in front of the Parliament Buildings was a scene of unusual excitement. Within the buildings the governor and his cabinet were almost continually in session arranging a plan of campaign, though some of the council meetings were held at Archbishop Strachan's "Palace" near by, and in Government House.

Confusion reigned among the crowds of untried warriors until Col. Fitzgibbon marshalled them into companies, which were further organized into three divisions, which extended from the buildings eastward along Front-street as far as the Bishop's

Palace. The total muster was about 1,100 men. Sir Francis, mounted on a white horse, gave the word of command to advance at twelve o'clock noon, on December 7th, and thus started the hastily formed army for the rebel rendezvous, to the stirring music of two bands, the windows and roofs being crowded by men, women and children who cheered each company as it marched by. Nearly a quarter of a century had elapsed since Toronto had witnessed such real evidences of war, when in 1813 the invading American troops marched victoriously along the water front.

The buildings experienced another "military occupation" when the peregrinating Parliament of the Union left it after the session of 1859, three companies of the 30th Regiment taking possession and transforming the legislative halls into noisy barracks. The 30th had crossed the ocean in the *Great Eastern*, along with 2,000 fellow-warriors. Portions of the following regiments were quartered within the Parliament buildings: 30th Foot (now Cambridgeshire Regiment), one battalion of the 16th Foot (now Bedfordshire Regiment), 47th Lancashire (now the Royal North Lancashire), one battalion of the 17th (now Leicestershire Regiment), the 29th Foot and the 60th Rifles. The eastern wing was occupied as a mess room, billiard hall and officers' quarters. The chamber and library were filled by two companies, the third making themselves comfortable in the long building in the rear of the main portion. The basement of the centre part was made habitable, and to-day the old signs of "Sergeant's Room, No —," are still to be seen painted on the dusty old panes of glass. Several dungeons of stygian darkness, into which not a ray of light enters, which were utilized as guard-rooms, are also to be found in the gloomy recesses of the deserted cellars, while the officers, imitating Sir Walter Scott's example at Shakespeare's home, scratched their names on the window panes. One of the diversions of the men after a rollicking mess, was tobogganing down the stairways, the dinner-tables, with their legs pointing heavenward, being utilized for the purpose.

The military occupation of the buildings put their strength to a severe test, so much so that, when the Ontario Assembly met

in the Chamber in 1867, large portions of the east wing walls had to be rebuilt. It was in a dilapidated and dangerous condition, the floors requiring a net-work of props and the walls a number of stays. The Chamber, during the military occupation, was partitioned off into dormitories, the "throne" and its unicorn background remaining in its place since it had been last used in 1859.

After the Union Act of 1841 was passed, the chamber was deserted for nearly ten years from 1841 to 1850. In 1848 and early in 1849, the buildings were utilized as a lunatic asylum, the old gaol on Toronto-street, where seventeen insane patients had been confined, being utterly inadequate for the purpose. Dr. Rees was the first medical superintendent, who was succeeded by Dr. Telfer, both of whom are now dead. The staircases in the eastern wing were boarded up at the side so as to prevent the acrobatically inclined patients from throwing themselves over the balustrades. One of the inmates of the old gaol and the Parliament Buildings—Andrew Wood—is still a patient at the Toronto Asylum, being now over ninety years of age.

In 1839 the buildings were used temporarily by the Court of Queen's Bench, and again in 1846 they were used for university and medical school purposes in connection with King's College, William Hume Blake was professor of law in the university and delivered his law lectures (which commenced at eight o'clock in the morning), in one of the rooms in the east wing of the Parliament Buildings.

The two small cottages standing at the western end of the Crown Lands Department were used as dissecting rooms by the medical students. Those were the days of extensive body-snatching; indeed it was the only means by which the students could obtain dissectable subjects, no legal machinery being in force at that time for the supply of bodies from the public institutions.

On a winter night of 1846, half a dozen embryo Æsculapians boarded a huge sleigh and drove to a lonely graveyard out on Yonge-street, where they soon went to work with picks and shovels until they had excavated a hole about two feet square,

at the head of a newly-made grave. The coffin reached, one of the party was lowered, who proceeded to saw off the lid and fix a rope around the arms of the body, and soon the ghastly bit of humanity was stretched upon the snow. Denuding the corpse of its death clothing, which was returned to the coffin, the body was enclosed in an old sack and thrown in the sleigh. No sooner, however, had the homeward journey been commenced than they found they were being pursued, a team of blacks flying after them over the glittering road-bed at a Gilpinite speed, but the medicos eluded their pursuers and reached the college in safety.

Thus have the old walls seen many a strange transformation caused, as has been said, by the peregrinations of the Parliament of the Union. On the return to Toronto, after a Parliament of sessions in Quebec or Montreal, the throne, the mace, and the general outfit were again put in place, and the barrack-rooms, the class-rooms, or the wards of the insane were converted again to Legislative uses. In November of 1849 the various Departments were removed from Montreal to Toronto, nine years having elapsed since the last session of the Upper Canadian Legislature had been held in the old buildings. Considerable expense was incurred in renovating, refitting, and decorating the Chambers, and when the session was convened on the 14th of May, 1849, great crowds came not only from Toronto, but from all parts of the Province, to witness the opening ceremonies with Lord Elgin as the Governor-General.

Parliament met in Quebec from 1852 to 1855, and when Toronto's turn came again, the Departments were, for the second time, moved to the latter city, Sir Edmund Head opening the session. The buildings again underwent an extensive internal transformation. Owing to the large increase in the membership of the Assembly, additional accommodation had to be provided for. The space formerly allotted to the public had been encroached upon to such an extent that only a few benches were left at the west entrance for the use of the members of the Legislative Council. The Council Chamber (afterward the Library) was decorated afresh and refurnished, presenting an aspect of

almost imperial splendor, insomuch that the Governor privately remarked that "responsible government had not obliterated the respect of Canadians for the trappings of sovereignty."

At this time the Front-street buildings came far short of providing sufficient accommodation for the Departments, and, as a result, they were scattered far and near, some on the far east of the city, and others again in the distant west. The Executive Council officers were quartered with the Law Department, the Provincial Secretary's Department, and the office of the Governor-General, in the old hospital, which stood in the rear of an orchard near the corner of King and John-streets. This same building, by the way, was Sir John A. Macdonald's headquarters during that Parliament, and it was there also that George Brown's celebrated two-days' administration held its deliberations during its brief but memorable existence.

Immediately after the prorogation of the session of 1859, the Departments were removed to Quebec where they remained for six years before being permanently removed to Ottawa. Since Confederation, the old buildings have been even more inadequate to accommodate the Departments than in 1856, and various outside buildings have been called into requisition. The Departments of the Attorney-General, Registrar-General, Division Courts and Immigration, were housed for some years in the building on the corner of York and Wellington-streets, known as York House, and formerly occupied by Judge Hagerman. The Public Works Department found temporary quarters in a building on Wellington-street near York-street, the Department of Agriculture and Bureau of Statistics were stationed at the corner of Yonge and Queen-streets, and the Board of Health on Yonge-street. Now, however, all the Departments are under the one roof, with the exception of the Education Department, which still remains at the Normal School buildings.

On many occasions, the Chamber and Legislative Council room have been the scene of brilliant balls, held under the patronage of Government House. The old Legislative Chamber was the scene of many a ball, where gathered the wealth and beauty of Ontario's capital. But the most successful event of this nature

was held in the charred ruins of the old Government House, the burnt walls being covered with flags and banners, and the summer sky serving as the only roof. The scene is described as being beautiful in the extreme.

Nor have the old buildings been the home only of legislators, soldiers, judges, professors, and other classes of beings in human and visible form, but strange tales have reached me of ghostly visitors and occupants, who seem to have acted, as bad ghosts sometimes do, in a highly reprehensible manner. Certainly no fitting spirit could ask for a more suitable haunt than the cave-like cells in the basement, the dark and narrow corridors, with their bewildering twists and turns, or the dusty, echoing upper chambers. When the building was used as an insane asylum, one of the female patients committed suicide by hanging herself from a hook in the wall of the basement, and it was quite consistent, therefore, that for years, on dark and stormy nights, she should haunt the spot where the tragic deed was committed.

The spirit of the poor demented suicide is said to have had a rival in a sister ghost, who, clad in white, with her hair streaming loosely over her shoulders, stole silently through the subterranean aisles.

Another female spirit, with a checked dress thrown over her head, chose the western cottage for her midnight meanderings—a building which was then used as the dissecting room, which probably accounts for a pile of human bones unearthed near it a few years ago.

The old office of the Queen's printer had an odd upper story or gallery, dust-covered and full of echoes, where a soldier-ghost was wont to parade in full regimentals. He displayed a commendable gallantry in thus choosing a quiet corner for himself, and not trespassing upon the preserves of his spectral companions. But his choice of locality may have been determined by the collection of arms and accoutrements that adorned the walls and ceiling, belonging to the late John Notman's museum, among which he would naturally feel at home.

Less tangible and more mysterious were the denizens of the reporters' room at the rear of the eastern gallery. All that is

known of these was told by a night watchman, who after one midnight visit could never again be induced to enter the room alone. He hinted vaguely of knockings and noises, heavy breathings from unseen forms and other disconcerting manifestations. Who knows how many phantom parliaments, where departed legislators met once more in wordy conflict, were disturbed by the erratic actions of the other uncanny occupants of the old buildings.

On two occasions the buildings have narrowly escaped destruction by fire. In 1861 a fire occurred in the east wing and in July of 1862 the roof of the west wing was entirely destroyed in the same way. Fire has indeed played havoc with many of our parliament buildings. Besides their destruction in 1813, and again in 1824, the parliament buildings at Montreal were completely destroyed in 1849, while the Dominion buildings at Ottawa have had more than one narrow escape.

A bank robbery is also among the memories of the old buildings, in the days when a branch of the Bank of Upper Canada was opened in what is known as the Speaker's Rooms. Just how much was stolen on that occasion is not known, but the most remarkable feature of the case is, so it is said, that the window glass was cut from the *inside*.

Mention should be made of Mrs. Bilton, who for many years kept a confectionery stand in the corridor, near the main entrance, and whom the members of the old Legislature will well remember. If she could have carried the "sweets of office" in stock, her business might have been even more thriving than it was.

The history of the various maces used in the different parliaments of the province is a most interesting one. The first one was made of pine or fir, painted red and gilded, and was used by Simcoe when the first parliament was convened in Niagara. It was afterward included among the spoils of war captured by the Americans in 1813 in Toronto, and is still to be seen, with a British ensign captured at the same time, in the U. S. Naval Academy at Annapolis, Md. All trace has been lost of the one used after the American war, but upon the union of the Canadas Parliament ordered the purchase of a new mace, which was pro-

cured in 1845 at a cost of £500 sterling. It is described as a facsimile of that in the British House of Commons, and it, too, has had a stirring history. Three times it has been rescued from the flames, and during the Montreal riot it again narrowly escaped destruction. It would seem to have a charmed life. The mace used in the Ontario Legislature at present was procured by the Sandfield-Macdonald Government, and is made of copper and richly gilded. Its cost, however, was only \$200.

The following dates will best illustrate the varied history of the old buildings :

1826.—First sum voted for their construction.

1829.—Tenders invited.

1832-41.—Occupied by the Legislature of Upper Canada.

1839.—Used temporarily by the Court of Queen's Bench for its sittings.

1846.—Utilized for university and medical school purposes, in connection with King's College.

1848-9.—Occupied as an asylum for the insane.

1849-51.—Sessions of Parliament of the united Provinces.

1856-59.—Parliament of the united Provinces.

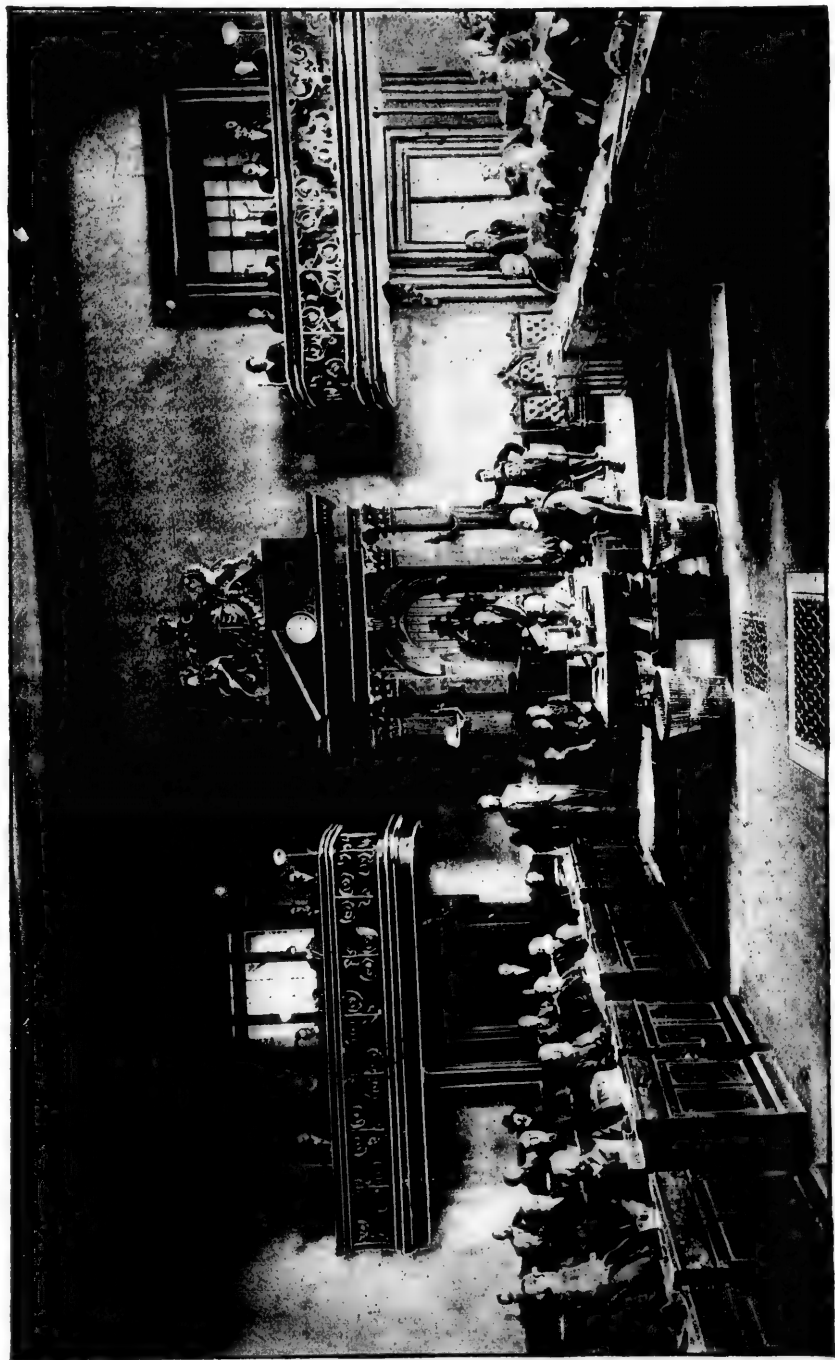
1861-67.—Utilized as military barracks.

1867 to 1892.—Sessions of the Ontario Legislature.



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Interior of Legislative Chamber, 1892. House in Session.



CHAPTER VI.

FAMOUS SCENES IN THE OLD CHAMBER.

IF all the famous scenes witnessed in the old Parliament Buildings were to be chronicled, a very large volume would be required to contain the record, for, while warring spirits produced friction and keen contests for supremacy in earlier days, it is probable that no legislative chamber has witnessed stormier scenes or heard more animated, if not acrimonious, debates than the old home of Ontario's Parliament.

It is therefore possible here to refer to only a few of the notable scenes connected with the Front-street building, and a commencement may well be made with the exciting incidents arising out of the burning in effigy of Sir John Colborne in Hamilton during an early session. Out of the investigation to which it gave rise came ultimately the imprisonment of Sir Allan McNab for "high contempt and breach of the privileges of the House," in refusing to answer the questions of the Committee of Privileges relative to the burning in effigy of the Lieutenant-Governor. "The House having learned with astonishment and indignation that some evil-disposed persons did on the night of the 29th of last month, at the town of Hamilton, in the Gore District, unwarrantably and maliciously exhibit a libellous representation of our present Lieutenant-Governor," Sir Allan was summoned to the Bar of the House on the 19th of February, where, after examination, he was, by a resolution moved by William Lyon Mackenzie and seconded by Jesse Ketchum, "committed to the gaol of York during the pleasure of this House." Two votes of the House were taken at different times to liberate him, but both were negatived.

He was finally given his liberty on the 2nd of March, after having been imprisoned for fourteen days. This episode had the effect of suddenly bringing the future baronet into prominence. Being treated as a martyr, his fortune was thereby materially advanced, one of the results being his election to the Assembly in the following year.

The Honorable H. J. Boulton, Solicitor-General, was also called to the bar of the House, but escaped imprisonment by offering to answer questions. The most impressive and astonishing part of the scene was the administering of a most mild and kindly admonition by Boulton's old-time opponent, Marshall Spring Bidwell, when everyone expected a severe attack.

Another of the features of the investigation was the summoning of William Jarvis, Sheriff of the Gore district, to the bar of the House, "to give evidence upon the outrage and to produce the effigy connected therewith, or such parts thereof as are in his possession." One has only to picture the scene of the exhibition of remnants of an unpicturesque caricature before an assembly, grave and solemn, as investigators should be, to see a ludicrous side to it, especially in view of the report of the special committee, "that the circumstance called 'the Hamilton outrage' was altogether unworthy the public notice which has been drawn to it by the exaggerated reports of the *Gore Gazette*, and that the persons who committed the offence have been so few in number as still to elude detection."

The burning in effigy of William Lyon Mackenzie in Galt, a few years later, called for no such formal investigation.

The decade of years preceding the uprising of 1837 were the most turbulent in the parliamentary history of the province, and nearly every session witnessed many a debate where vituperation and invective were the chief weapons.

The stormiest of all "the stormy petrels" of that time was undoubtedly William Lyon Mackenzie. Soon after entering the political arena in 1829, he carried the warfare which he had been conducting in his paper, into the Legislative Chamber. In order to rid themselves of such a thorn in the flesh, the Government revived an obsolete rule, which forbade the unauthorized publi-

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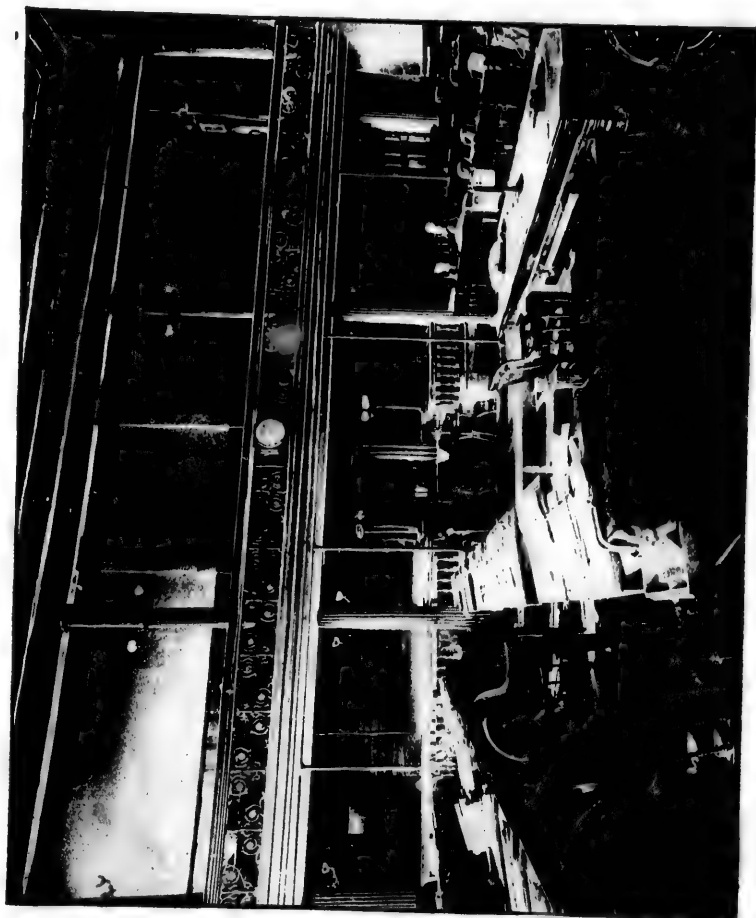
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Interior Legislative Chamber, Old Parliament Building, showing Bar of the House, 1892.

cation of reports of parliamentary proceedings. The agitation for Mackenzie's exclusion from the House commenced as early as the session of 1831. Motion after motion, made by Mackenzie, brought from Attorney-General Boulton speeches of a very bitter tone, but "the little mannikin from York," as he was called, continued to annoy and harrass the Government in a manner never before dreamed of. The attempted revenge of the Government came during the following session. By this time the Reform party had a following in the House which materially strengthened their hands, among the number being Dr. Rolph, Marshall Spring Bidwell, Dr. Morison and others. In time they controlled the Assembly, but the Executive exercised the veto power whenever they deemed it necessary. But in Mackenzie they had an opponent whose restless spirit kept the Chamber in a state of excitement and occasional uproar. He, however, found a stout foe in Sir John Colborne, a man described as "a rigid absolutist and strict disciplinarian." It is not to be wondered at that the family compact were in bitter hostility to Mackenzie who, through the medium of his paper, called them "tools of a servile power," declared "he would rather work for his bread than submit to the official fungi of the country, more numerous and pestilential than the quagmires and marshes that encircle Toronto." He also had petitions sent to the House, made numerous charges against the Executive, and started on a new line by investigating the public accounts. His utterances were regarded by the Executive authorities as "gross, scandalous and malicious libels," and a charge of breach of privilege was ultimately made against him. After making a defence on the lines that the House had no jurisdiction in prosecutions for libel, he withdrew from the Chamber. A number of motions and amendments were voted upon, when the House, by a vote of twenty-four to fifteen, decided to expel him. This precipitated a series of the stormiest scenes ever witnessed in the historic old building. Petitions poured in, signed, no doubt, by Mackenzie's friends, praying the Lieutenant-Governor to dismiss a House "tainted with the worst vices of judicial partiality."

The privilege of petition was apparently largely taken advan-

tage of judging by the long lists published in the Journals of the House at that time. For instance, during this session of 1831 they numbered 200, increasing as the popular discontent increased, to over 600 in 1836 and 1837, and 750 in 1857. In fact, they form a comparatively correct index of the unrest that then existed.

The expelled member was re-elected on the 2nd of January, 1832. His friends carried him through the streets in triumph, *via* Government House to the Parliament Buildings, where they halted amid loud cheers and much confusion from the thousands attracted by the unusual scene. Entering the House he stood at the bar waiting to be sworn in, surrounded by a crowd of sympathizers. A motion to expel him a second time was met with hisses. At length, the surging mass of men that filled the galleries and corridors, forced the outer doors of the House, and took possession of every available space. He was, however, again expelled on a new charge, that he had deliberately repeated in the *Advocate* the libellous statement that "the present House was an assembly of sycophants," although the main phrase which offended his opponents was, that "they were a band of public robbers." On leaving the chamber, the hero of the hour in the eyes of his followers addressed the latter, when cheers were given for William IV., Earl Grey and the Reform ministry. The procession of sleighs reformed and conducted the new member to his home. Fearing serious outbreaks, Sir John Colborne had the articles of war read for several days to the regiment, and one of the members of the House, Mr. Thomson, gave notice of an address to the King, praying him to remove the seat of Government to some more safe and convenient position where they would not be daily liable "to be annoyed, insulted and overawed by a mob so ignorant or infatuated as to become the ready tools for executing every species of violence and outrage to which any political demagogue may choose to incite them."

Mackenzie was re-elected by a vote of 628 to 96, the voting taking place at the Red Lion Hotel on Yonge-street. The turbulent spirit assumed threatening proportions. Scores of meetings were held, and petitions were signed and sent to the King and the

Imperial Parliament, praying for redress of grievances. While Mackenzie was in England for the purpose of presenting the petitions in person, the Legislature of 1833 once more expelled him. The old story was repeated of his re-election, and so the battle went on. After his election in December, 1833, another great crowd followed their leader in his attempt to enter the House and take his seat. Sir Allan MacNab was hissed from the gallery, whereupon the Speaker ordered it cleared. The Sergeant-at-Arms (David MacNab, a brother of Sir Allan), also ordered Mackenzie to leave. MacNab drew his sword when Mackenzie said, "Don't touch me, I am prepared to take the oath." Still standing his ground, the custodian of the mace seized the recalcitrant member and tried to draw him toward the door, but a stalwart Highland friend of the little Scotchman interfered. By this time the excitement was at fever heat, and the populace attempting to take possession of the Chamber, possibly for the novel purpose of bodily routing the thirty-five members, the inner door was bolted and barricaded. Great confusion reigned in the lobbies and galleries. Some of the members fearing bloodshed, addressed the crowds, when gradually the uproar died down and a truce was called. Mackenzie's re-expulsion the next day brought forth another shower of petitions to the Lieutenant-Governor. A few days after, the redoubtable contestant again entered the House, wearing the gold chain and medal that had been presented to him by his admirers, and took his seat, only to be ejected three times by the vigilant Sergeant. As before, dense crowds witnessed the scenes from the galleries. Finally, Mackenzie left the House, and Toronto remained without one of its members for nearly a whole Parliament.

The acrimony that distinguished the debates appeared in the press of that day. One paper, in reporting the proceedings of the session of 1831, thus referred to Mr. Mackenzie: "Mr. Mackenzie brought up to the House as many documents as could be packed in a common wheelbarrow, and entertained honorable members by what he called a speech on the Kingston bank bill for the period of about six hours and a half, during which he addressed the Speaker with, Yes, sir; No, sir; Then, sir; Now, sir,

555 times." In another issue, the same paper (the *Canadian Freeman*) refers to him as William Lie-on Mackenzie, the mountebank, "who begins to feel his consequence among small people and to swell, like the frog in the fable, with pomp and vanity. This emporium of political villainy, this squib scribbler, this heavy curse upon the public, little Mackenzie, has been raised from a prostrate baboon posture to assume the attitude of a man. The shameless fabrications of this lying knave, and his idle chattering this session, have cost the country as much as would macadamize most of the road from York to Newmarket! We tell the people of Upper Canada to beware of the designing, hypocritical faction and all their tools. If not closely watched they will yet overturn the liberties of the country."

The choice of Marshall Spring Bidwell as Speaker in 1835 was another occasion for an exhibition of extreme party feeling. The Solicitor-General denounced him as totally unfit to occupy that high and dignified situation. Thereupon Mr. Perry, says the *Recorder*, "got on his props and talked against time with a good deal of success, and succeeded in convincing the House of the excellence of his wind and the suppleness of his tongue."

Sir Francis Bond Head (the first purely civil Governor), arrived in Toronto while Parliament was in session in 1835. Contrary to all precedent, he visited the Upper House at once, called the Assemblymen to the bar of the Council-room, and there addressed them. The King had heard there were grievances to redress, he said, and he had been sent out to redress them. This raised the hopes of the Reformers, who looked upon the new representative as an ally and a friend. Returning to the Assembly, Dr. Duncombe, then member for Oxford, moved for a Committee of Privilege to enquire as to whether it was the correct thing for the King's representative to address them in the midst of Parliament. "That did the business," said an eye-witness of the scene to me. "The Governor turned against the Reform section, being greatly annoyed by the motion, and that was in fact the turning-point which led to the outbreak in 1837."

The charge against Sir Francis Bond Head that he was guilty of directing unconstitutional means during the elections of 1836,

produced materials for a bitter fight in parliament and in the press. One journal says: "We have before us the report of the committee who were carefully selected to whitewash His Excellency Sir Francis Bond Head. We expected it would be plausible though false, but it turns out to be false without the cumbersome appendage of plausibility. It declares Sir Francis to be as pure as driven snow, and the House of Assembly and the Orangemen a leetle purer! Whatever effect the report may have on Downing-street, every man, woman, and child in Canada will pronounce it from beginning to end one living lie. The trail of the serpent is over it all." No wonder Sir Francis, from his point of view, afterward wrote of Mackenzie as "a political mountebank," who "spoke, stamped, foamed, wiped his seditious little mouth, and then spoke again," and no wonder also that he writes, "On the 23rd of March (1838), at noon precisely I proceeded to Parliament Buildings to attend the swearing-in of my successor, and as soon as this important ceremony was over, bowing in silence, first to him and then to his Executive Council, I descended the stairs and found myself alone in the pure, fresh air. It was altogether to me a moment of overwhelming enjoyment and I could not help fervently muttering to myself, 'Thank God, I am at last relieved!'"

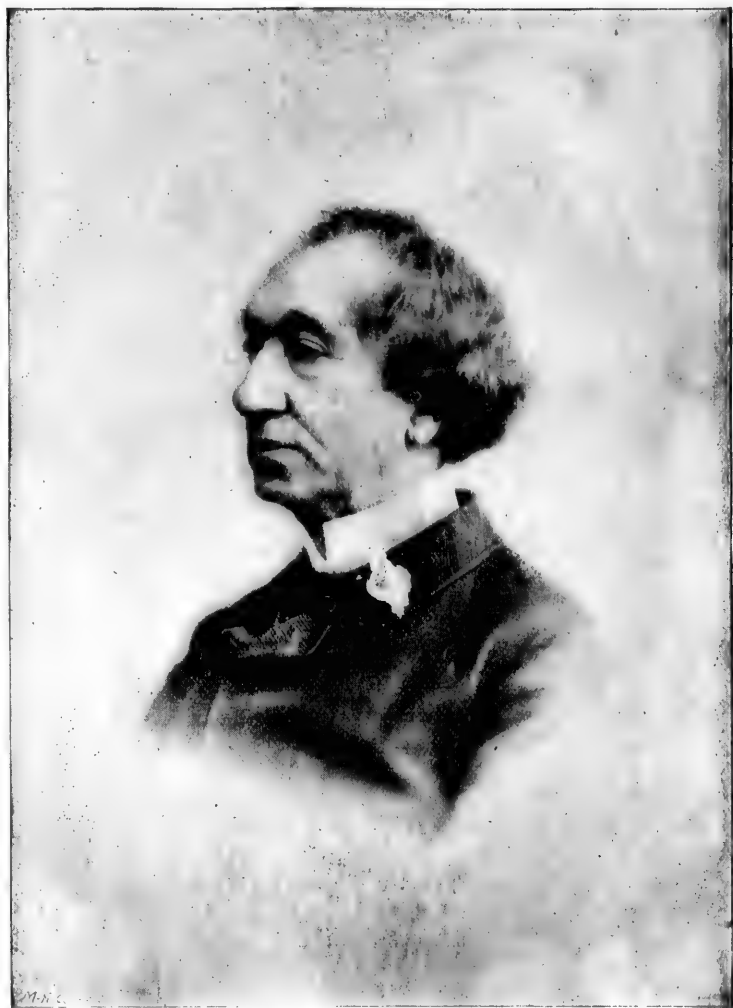
The seventh report of the Grievance Committee—a formidable document, which was afterwards sent to the Home Government—was another bone of contention that produced not a little vituperation in the House debates. In 1836 a general election was held, the Reformers being left in a decided minority, Mackenzie and several of his co-workers suffering defeat. A new parliament assembled on the 8th of November, the Government strength being irresistible. During this session Dr. Rolph, who was a new addition to the Opposition, made the speech of his life in favor of selling the clergy reserves and applying the proceeds to educational purposes; but his motion was defeated. The session terminated amid a scene of disorder, based on the project of uniting Upper and Lower Canada. A number took part in the debate amid frequent interruptions, when Dr. Rolph rose to speak to a question of order. Strongly worded appeals

were made to the Speaker, and hard words were freely hurled between the excited members. Confusion and disorder reigned, until the Speaker announced the arrival of the Lieutenant-Governor. This put a stop to all further discussion, and in proroguing the parliament the Lieutenant-Governor congratulated the members on the *harmony* of the session !

The visit of Lord Durham in 1838 was an important event of that day. He reached Toronto by boat, and thousands had gathered between the Front-street entrance of the Parliament Buildings and the bay to see and hear the Commissioner sent out by the Home Government. The vessel could be seen sailing around the Island, but instead of turning through the western gap, it continued up the lake, to the wonder of the waiting throng. Returning at length, however, the boat entered the bay and landed its distinguished passenger, who proceeded to the Buildings direct from the wharf. For nearly three hours the crowd had patiently waited, discussing the cause of the delay. It was some time after that rumor attributed the strange conduct of the Captain and the Commissioner to the fact that My Lord was in the act of preparing an elaborate toilet when the city was reached, and the captain was ordered to cruise around for an hour or two until the important operation could be completed ! Entering the Legislative Council-room, he there addressed the members of both Houses, and afterwards delivered a speech to the outside throng from the stone steps of the main entrance.

The sessions of 1849-51 were also alive with stormy scenes among the political warriors of those days. Lord Elgin was Governor-General at the time, and although an unassuming, plain old gentleman, being often seen to walk arm-in-arm with his wife in the good, old-fashioned way, yet he never failed to uphold the dignity of his high office when opening or proroguing the House. On such occasions a gaily caparisoned four-in-hand drew the Vice-Regal coach, while a full complement of postilions attended to wait on His Lordship. When he made his first appearance in Toronto a few hisses were heard amid the cheers, the burning of the Parliament Buildings in Montreal being still a disturbing question, but public feeling was soon allayed.

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Sir John A. Macdonald

The session of 1850 witnessed a series of keen debates on the old-time questions of the clergy reserves, the rebellion losses bill and seigniorial tenures. Rancor, virulence and acrimony characterized the speeches. Col. Prince moved an amendment (which was voted down) censuring the executive for dismissing from office some of the signers of the annexation manifesto. Papineau, Sir Allan MacNair and other leading members indulged in personalities that caused most unseemly exhibitions of temper, accompanied with shaking of fists and dire threats. This lasted for three months, but that there was a great deal of legislative work performed, despite the acrimonious speech-making, is shown by the fact that nearly 250 bills were introduced in the two houses, of which 145 received the royal assent; 739 petitions were also presented and 84 select committees appointed, which made 106 reports.

The Journals of 1851 contain one of the earliest suggestions of Confederation, Mr. Merritt moving that "an address be sent to the Queen to consider the project of a general confederation of all the British North American provinces," but it only secured seven votes.

William Lyon Mackenzie reappeared in Parliament during this session. His return from exile produced a commotion, three successive attempts being made on his life at the hands of mobs, which were only quelled by the calling out of the troops, but these were the last public displays against him. He continued to occupy a seat in the House for seven years, and finally ended his exciting and eccentric life on the 28th of August, 1861.

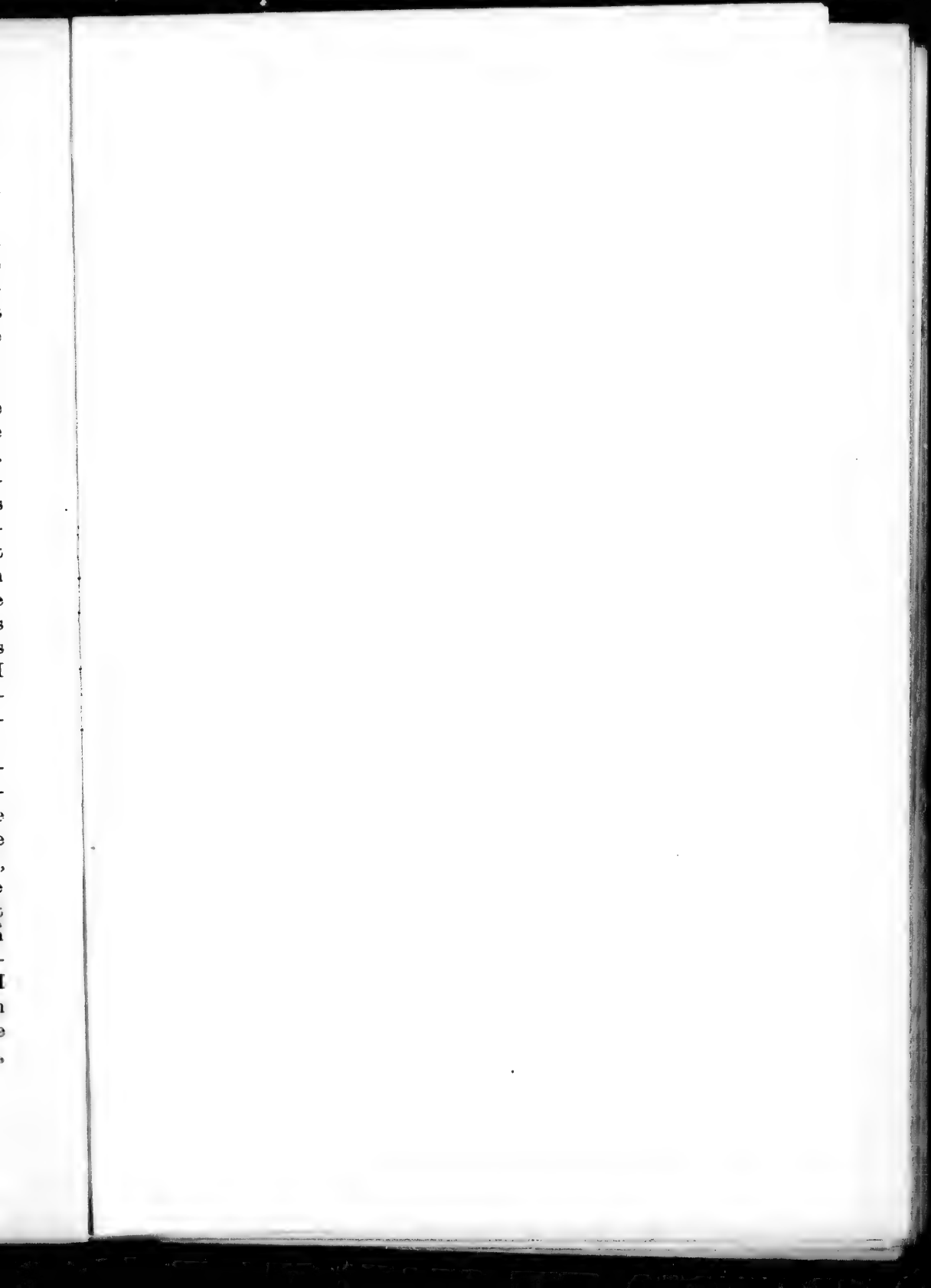
The Parliament of 1856-59 witnessed almost as many acrimonious debates as the sessions leading up to the troubles of 1837-38. The most memorable, perhaps, was the attack of John A. Macdonald, then Attorney-General, on George Brown, accusing him of falsifying testimony and suborning witnesses in connection with an old investigation regarding the Kingston Penitentiary. The member for Kingston is described as having electrified the House with his tirade, "causing even the least scrupulous of parliamentary sharpshooters to stand aghast." The excitement became general and rose to white heat. The very atmosphere

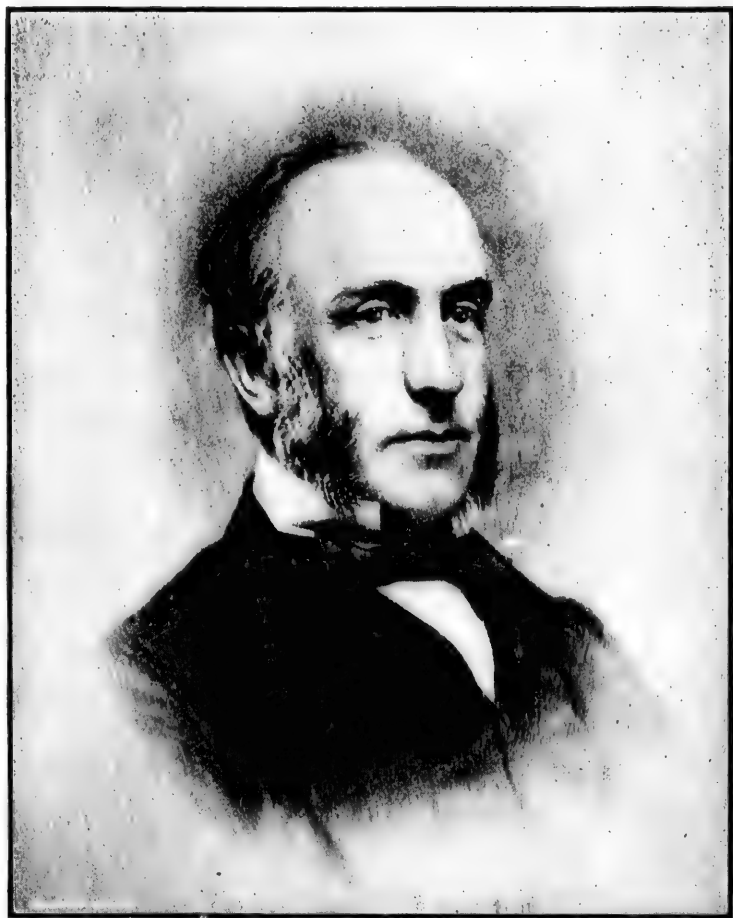
of the assembly seemed to be charged with electricity, and the Speaker twice called the offenders to order.

After the attack, which was a most bitter one, the accused member arose, "shivering with rage," and repelled the charge with a torrent of fierce words. As an outcome a special committee, whose sittings lasted the greater part of the session, went thoroughly into the Attorney-General's charges, which were proved to be unfounded. The personal hostility between the two leaders arising out of this combat never fully died out.

This was almost equalled during the same session by a scene between John A. and Colonel Rankin on a motion regarding the seat of Government, which nearly resulted in a personal collision. Mr. Macdonald had commenced the trouble by a very warm personal attack on Rankin, the latter replying that his assailant was "a man totally lost to all sense of honor." In those days, duelling was just dying out, but the spirit of it so far lived that it was supposed the episode would lead to a personal encounter; in fact the Speaker, fearing such a result, threatened to place the warring members under the custody of the Sergeant-at-Arms until their trouble should blow over. So far as the public has hitherto known, nothing passed between the principals, but I have reason to believe that some correspondence did pass between them, having a settlement of their difficulty by the old-time code in view, but it all ended in correspondence.

During all these sternly contested discussions and debates, Cabinet dissensions were frequent, Sir Allan MacNab finally resigning. Two days after his resignation he was carried into the House, swathed in flannel, by two servants. A touching spectacle followed, when the old parliamentarian, addressing the House, but remaining seated in his chair, said, with emotion, that he had been a member of the House for twenty-six years, and that he had certain statements to make to his Ministers. "If I am supported by their voice, I shall feel that I am right; if condemned, I am ready to retire into private life, and, perhaps, I am now fitted for little else." Bent with age, and "broken with the storms of state," the end of his public life had come, the survival of the fittest, in his displacement by a younger man,





Hon. George Brown.

once again being demonstrated. He remained a member for six years thereafter.

The Tache-Macdonald administration was then formed, the MacNab ministry having been defeated on the Corrigan murder trial vote. The great debate of the session was that as to the seat of Government, which lasted for several days; at one time the flood of oratory continuing for thirty-two consecutive hours. No wonder the occupants of the reporters' gallery of that time refer to the hard work they were called upon to perform. What would they have said, however, to one day's record of 106 speeches during the session of 1826?

George Brown, "who revelled in public tumult as the petrel does in the storm," produced a hot debate by reading a motion on the 27th April, 1857, declaring for representation by population.

The next exciting event was the "double shuffle," of 1858, which was ushered in as well as out of existence by unusually bitter displays of party feeling. The want of confidence motion in the Brown-Dorion Administration was fiercely debated till midnight, when the two-days-old Cabinet was defeated. This memorable session lasted for five months, the speech-making being extraordinary at least for length and quantity. Even in the Legislative Council, twenty-five out of twenty-eight members spoke on one subject. The question of protection to home industries first came up at this session.

During one of the long debates of this period, when a great deal of speaking against time was indulged in, Mr. McKellar addressed the House in Gaelic for a goodly stretch,—a change from Anglo-Saxon that was no doubt agreeable under the circumstances.

On another occasion Mr. Brown and Mr. Cayley, the then Inspector-General, had an oratorical bout which ended by the throwing of inkstands at each other's heads, though no record can be traced of the result!

Powell's attack on George Brown, when he referred to the financial difficulties of Mr. Brown's father, produced a painful impression in the House. Mr. Brown seemed to be overcome with

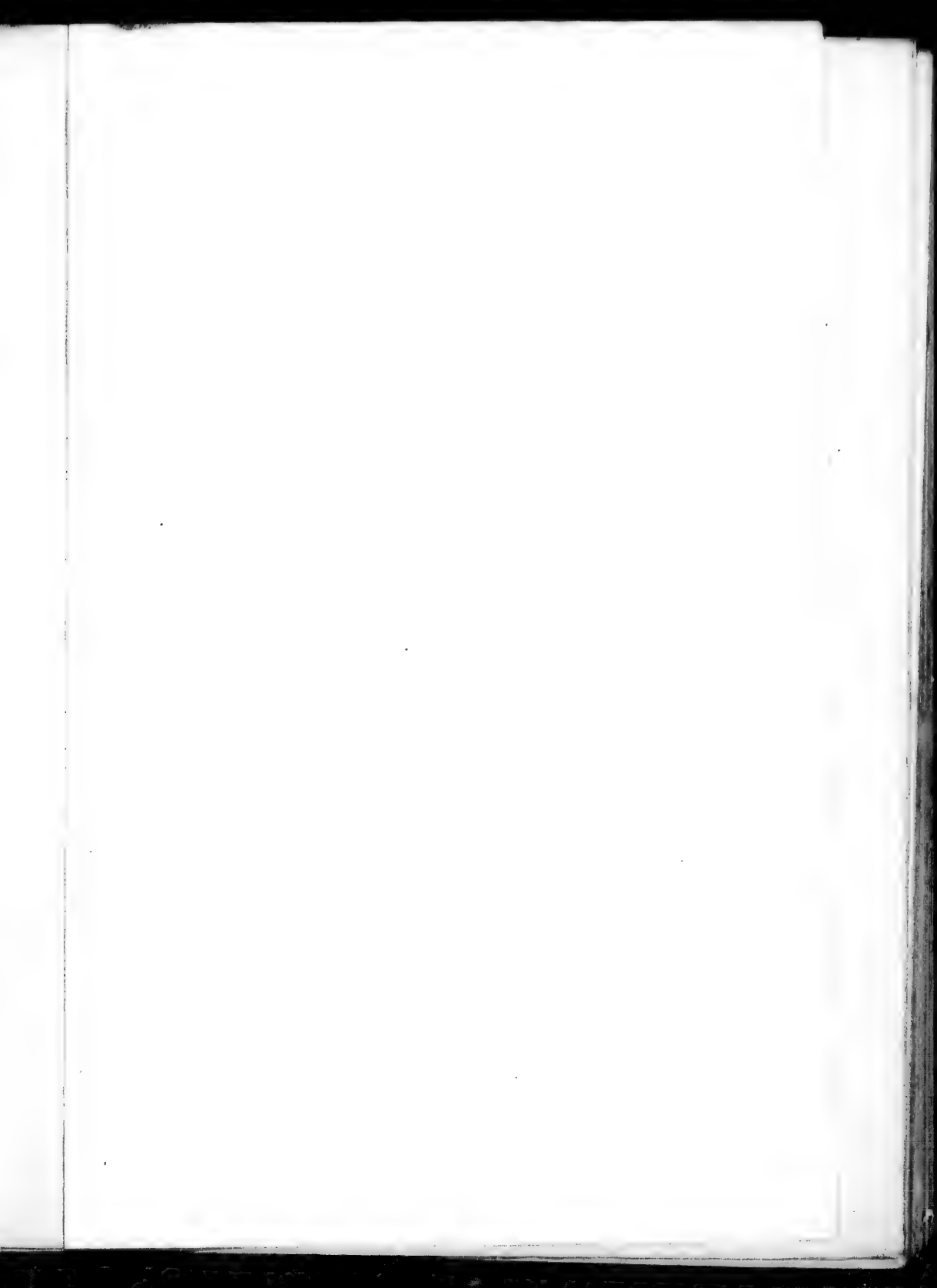
the attack, and leaned on his desk with his hands clasped over his head. His reply showed such a degree of emotion as to affect even his bitterest opponents. His vindication of his father was as manly as it was noble and filial, and revealed the speaker in a light differing from that exhibited in any ordinary debate.

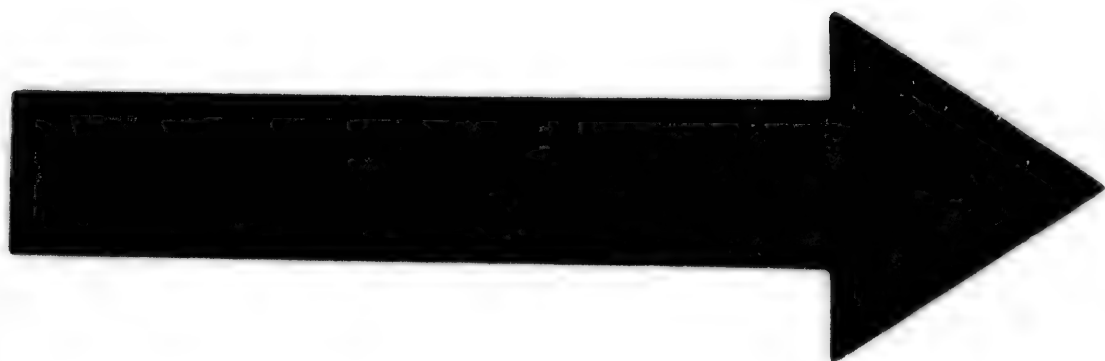
Another noteworthy incident is recorded in the same session of 1858. D'Arcy McGee made a violent attack on Sir John Macdonald, but the latter appeared to be deeply engaged in stamping a pile of letters with sealing wax, and to be deaf to the fiery criticism of the Irish orator. The latter complained of the inattention of the leader of the Government, when Sir John retorted that he had heard every word, as the speaker would find to his sorrow. But no sooner had the speaker ceased than the two were hobnobbing over a cheery glass in the refreshment rooms.

A remarkable scene took place on another occasion when the Legislative Council had returned a bill to the Assembly with a particular clause left out. One of the Assemblymen, indignant at the action of the Upper House, seized the document and, addressing the Speaker began : " Mr. Speaker, I do not want to insult you, sir, nor this honorable House, sir, but——." At this point the unoffending paper was incontinently kicked along the floor and through the doorway, while the whole House was in a tremendous state of excitement. The records report that " afterwards the Council was made to swallow the whole bill," and thus harmony was restored.

Nowadays, at the close of a long and wearisome session, the younger members celebrate the closing hours of the session by the throwing of paper pellets, blue books and even cushions, but during the Parliament of 1856-59 cushions and books were the weapons that were thrown, not in a spirit of fun, but as an outcome of anger and passion.

Before the session of 1859 was commenced a general election had taken place when " the Cabinet of eleven lawyers and one auctioneer," as George Brown said, was defeated. One of the important Acts passed was the imposition of a duty of twenty per cent. instead of fifteen per cent. on all commodities not specifically enumerated. The question of moving to Quebec again





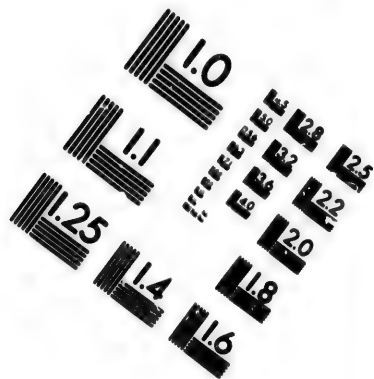
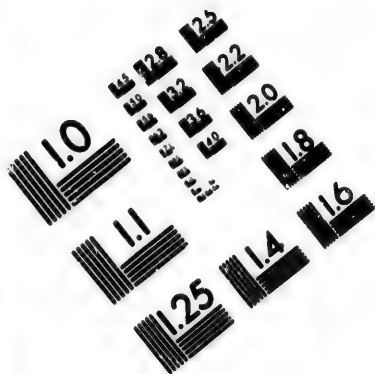
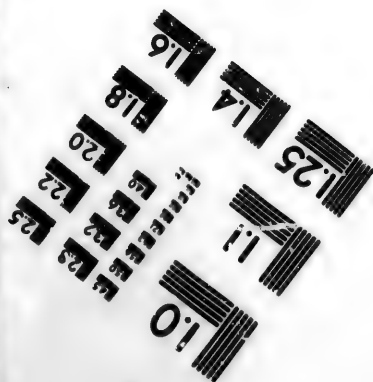
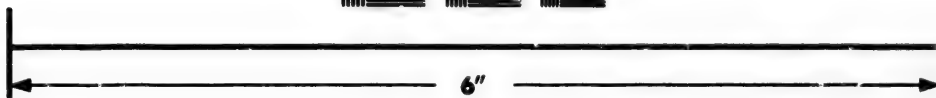
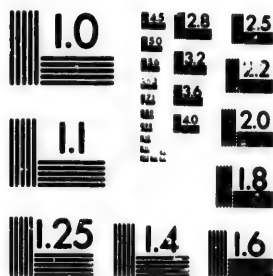


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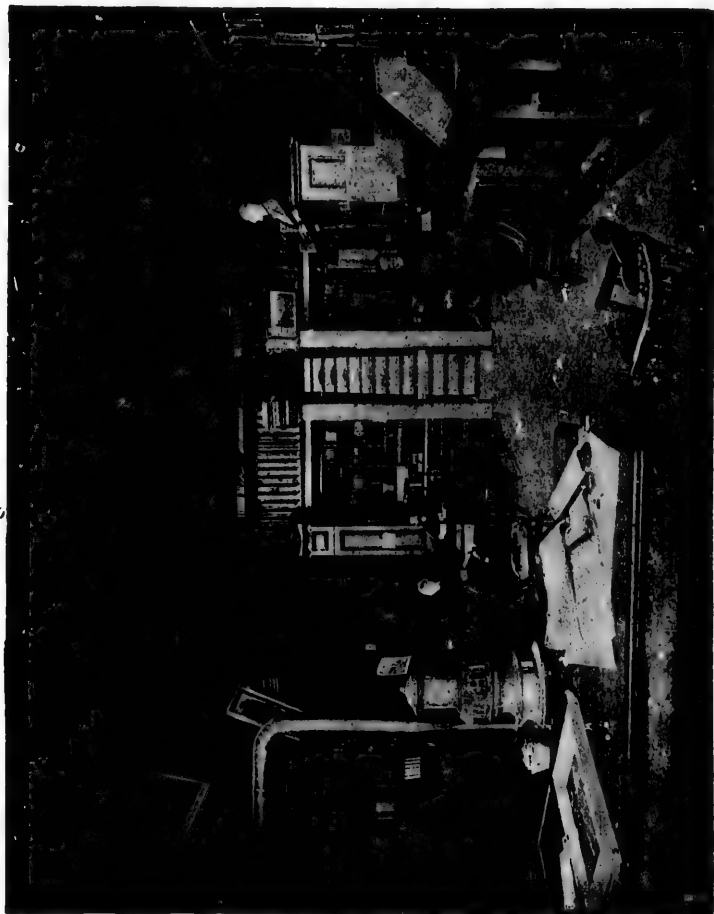


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Legislative Library, Old Parliament Building, 1892.

came up. This course was decided upon, but in the face of strong opposition. When this session was prorogued, and the departments and officials were removed to Quebec, the old buildings saw the last of the Parliament of the union. When next the booming of cannon was heard and the marching of a guard of honor seen, it was in connection with the opening of a new era—one of the fruits of confederation—the first session of the first Parliament of Ontario.

Many an exciting debate has been heard since the first session of the new Provincial Parliament in 1867, many a wordy battle has been fought, and many a speech of high quality and great power has been delivered. Probably no one event caused more excitement than the so-called Bribery Plot which was investigated in 1884, when it was charged that certain members had been approached with a view to inducing them to forsake the Government benches and join the Opposition.

The debates leading to the disputed boundary question and the various contests for the maintenance of provincial rights form some of the memorable scenes in the House during these last twenty years.

Death has invaded its precincts on more than one occasion, apart from those who passed away in the ordinary course of human events. On February 11th, 1881, Dr. Harkin, the member for Prescott, was seized with a paralytic stroke while the Speaker was reading the prayers, and died two hours afterward, while the sad event of the 25th March 1892 when Mr. H. E. Clarke, one of the Conservative members for Toronto, dropped dead while addressing the House, will be fresh in the mind of the public. The changing conditions of life are also evidenced by the fact that of the members and officers forming the Government and House of 1827-8, not one survives.

The Openings and Prorogations of Parliament may well be included in the series of famous scenes. On such occasions, the Chamber was filled with the civic, military and governmental notables, adorned with all the regalia that their position permitted, who, together with the ladies of Government House, literally took possession of "the floor of the House," and gravely

welcomed the King's or Queen's representative, who was escorted to the Parliament buildings by a guard of honor, amid the booming of cannon. Thus was received in the old Chamber on Front-street, Sir John Colborne, Sir Francis Bond Head, Lord Durham, Lord Elgin, the Hon. John Crawford, the Hon. D. A. Macdonald, the Hon. John Beverly Robinson, and Sir Alexander Campbell.

Mrs. Jamieson has described the prorogation of the session of 1837 in her "Winter Studies":—"The prorogation took place yesterday at three o'clock. When we arrived in front of the government offices, the scene was very striking. The snow-expanse was all around, and between the shore of the frozen bay and the line of the building, the space was filled by sleighs of all shapes and sizes, and a crowd of some hundred people, in all manner of strange defences against the piercing frost, intermingled with military costumes, and a few Indians lounging by in their blanket coats and war-plumes. The hall of the Legislative Council is certainly a spacious and lofty room, with a splendid throne, and the usual superfluity of gilding and varnish. * * * The members of the House of Assembly, being summoned, appeared below the bar, and the Governor read his speech over with very distinct utterance and much quiet self-possession."

One of the papers of that time viewed the function through different spectacles. The editor chronicles the opening of the session of 1835 as follows: "His Excellency, the Lieutenant-Governor proceeded to-day in great state to the Parliament Buildings. A little after three o'clock he took his seat on a splendid chair at the foot of a gorgeous and expensive gewgaw called the 'Throne,' and the Commons being in attendance in obedience to his summons, he directed them to retire and elect a Speaker. His Address will be delivered to-morrow and will be called 'The Speech.' Nothing can well be conceived more vain, shadowy and unimportant than the whole of this ceremony. The Commons dutifully retired as they were ordered, and His Excellency returned home in the same Vice-Regal state in which he left, and thus the gaudy farce was concluded—as far as His Excellency was concerned!"

As another specimen of the journalistic methods of those stirring days, the above description was followed by a picturesque, if not libellous, account of the keen debate that ensued over the appointment of Marshall Spring Bidwell as Speaker, Attorney-General Hagerman leading the Opposition to the nominee. The journal referred to, in reporting Hagerman's speech, described him with

“ One eye half clos'd, half out his slav'ring tongue,
His twisted nose from nature's part half wrung.

“ But we will not pursue the description lest it may be *too flattering to his vanity!*”

Truly the early western journalism could hardly improve upon the acidity and satire of the editor's quill of fifty years ago, or more, in our own Province.





CHAPTER VII.

THE REPORTERS' GALLERY.

THE freedom of the press," so far as the right to report and publish and comment upon parliamentary proceedings was concerned, was only obtained after the Upper Canada Parliament had existed for forty years or more, and after many a battle had been fought for the privilege. Indeed, the reporters' gallery of to-day, with the freedom and scope given to its occupants, is one of the boons that was practically unknown in the days when a free expression of opinion or adverse criticism resulted in fines and imprisonment. As early as 1812, the publishers of the *York Gazette*, John Cameron and Edward McBride, fell foul of some of the legislators, one of whom moved that the offending scribes be brought to the bar of the House to answer to an alleged "indecent insertion," which presumably reflected upon the mover, Allan McLean, the member for Frontenac. Thus early did the conflict between press and Parliament open, though in this particular case, the motion of the offended member was negatived.

Joseph Willcocks was, in addition to being a member of the Legislature, the founder and editor of the Upper Canada *Guardian and Freeman's Journal*, and in this latter capacity frequently came in conflict with the House to such an extent that fines and imprisonment were inflicted upon him, and he was at length compelled to stop the publication of his journal. He is entered in the Journals of 1814 as one of the deserters to the American army, and was afterwards killed at the siege of Fort Erie. The fact that Lieutenant-Governor Gore referred to him as "that execrable monster who would deluge the Province with

blood," is sufficient evidence that Willcocks was strongly antagonistic to the Government of that day.

The Journals of the House during the 'twenties contain frequent allusions to the subject of permitting reporters to attend the sessions, as well as to whether an official reporter should be appointed. Resolutions favoring these innovations were frequently made only to be defeated by the wise parliamentarians who probably viewed the proposals with no little alarm. During the session of 1821, £75 was appropriated to defray the expenses of reporting the debates of the House. Eleven members objected to this, but twenty-one voted for it.

The two journalists who came most frequently into conflict with the Executive and the Assembly, were undoubtedly Francis Collins and William Lyon Mackenzie. The former waged a warfare from 1821, when, as a reporter for the *Upper Canada Gazette* (published by the King's Printer, Dr. Horne), he offended the Government with his reports, till 1834, when the cholera included him as one of its victims, his paper, the *Freeman*, ceasing to exist at the same time. During the score of years that intervened, sharp reprimands, apologies and libel suits were but preliminary to imprisonment. One sentence, in 1828, included a fine of £50, imprisonment for a year, and security for good behavior for three years after his liberation, and to stand committed until all these conditions should be complied with. He remained in gaol for several months, during which time the fine was paid by public subscription. His case was made the subject of parliamentary enquiry in 1829, and at last freedom came, but not until his spirit was broken and his fortune wrecked. His sentence was no less severe than that imposed upon Bartemus Ferguson, the publisher of the *Niagara Spectator*, who, in 1817, because a letter written by Robert Gourlay had been inserted in his paper, but during his absence and without his knowledge, was sentenced to pay a fine of £50, to be imprisoned for eighteen months, and that in the course of the first month of his imprisonment "he do stand in the public pillory one hour," and finally, that he give security for his good behavior for seven years after the expiration of his term of incarceration.

The practice of voting grants to certain editors or reporters led, as a matter of course, to charges of favoritism against the Government by the Opposition organs, nevertheless this method prevailed for some years after the right of reporting at all was debated and fought to a successful issue. Thus grouping the sessions of 1832, 1833 and 1834, the following payments were made by the House: George Gurnett (editor of the *Courier*), £325; J. Carey (of the *Observer*), £100; Francis Collins (editor of the *Freeman*), £150; S. S. Junkins (reporter on the *Christian Guardian*), £250; J. King (of the *Correspondent*), £50, and M. Walton (of the *Courier and Patriot*), £100. Dr. O'Grady, editor of the *Correspondent*, in 1834, strongly objected to the alleged favoritism shown, and, after a special committee had investigated the matter, received a grant of £75. The redoubtable editor of the *Colonial Advocate*, William Lyon Mackenzie, declined to present his account to the special committee for the three years mentioned. "Having been greatly injured by that House (1834)," he says, "and put to much trouble and expense by its unjust proceedings towards me and towards the constituency I represent, and having also been subject to a long series of ungenerous misrepresentations through the press it upheld by votes of the public money, I thought it would be the right course to decline the application to put in a bill. I believed it probable that the people at the then ensuing elections would elect representatives that would not forget to do justice to any equitable claim I might have upon the justice of the country." The same House of 1834 voted him £225 for publishing the proceedings of the Assembly during the three years previous.

By the time the then new buildings were occupied in 1831-2, the advocates of a reporting system were successful in having Francis Collins, John Carey and George Gurnett appointed "to report the Debates and Votes of this House; that they shall report on successive days; that each reporter shall leave a fair copy of his report with the Clerk on the ensuing morning after each Debate, to which all proprietors of newspapers shall have access." Gurnett was paid £150, and Collins and Carey £100 each for their services, and the Sergeant-at-Arms was even directed "to

get a place constructed for the convenience of such persons as may be pleased to attend this House and report its proceedings."

The importance the two reporters' galleries played during the parliamentary life of the old buildings must not be overlooked, for while many public men developed their name and fame as members below, many another reached publicity and success *via* the two little overhanging galleries that flanked the Speaker's throne. The late Hon. Thomas White was a member of the gallery at one time, when he was known as "Curly-headed Tom," of the *Peterboro' Review*. Colonel Chamberlin, late Queen's printer of the Dominion, and at that time part proprietor of the *Montreal Gazette*, along with Mr. Lowe, the present Dominion Deputy Minister of Agriculture, were also among the number. Dr. Kingsford, the well-known Canadian historian, occasionally listened to the debates from the reporters' gallery, having a right of entry by being a contributor to the editorial columns of both the *Leader* and the *Colonist*.

Mr. William Buckingham, the joint author of the recently published *Life of Alexander Mackenzie*, came to Canada in the fever of the agitation, in 1857, for the principle of representation by population, and immediately joined the staff of the *Globe* as shorthand writer. After following George Brown on the hustings, he took his place in the gallery on the opening of the new Parliament, where the staff of the paper was strengthened for the renewal of the conflict; in fact, the gallery probably never contained such a strong force as during the sessions of the Sixth Union Parliament. Mr. Edwards, who afterwards removed to Washington and there died, was the regular hand with Mr. Buckingham at that time on the *Globe*. They were afterwards associated with each other in Quebec in reporting officially the Confederation debates, regarded at the time as a great feat in the "winged art." Mr. Harcourt, a facile writer, who had only recently come from England, and who soon returned thither, also took his turn with the *Globe's* regular staff when they were rushed. Mr. Penny, afterwards Senator, one of the proprietors of the *Montreal Herald*, who had engaged to give about half his time to the *Globe*, practically completed the Par-

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liamentary staff. Mr. W. H. Orr, then of the *Oshawa Vindicator*, now of Toronto, joined the staff later. Mr. Penny, while a very fair shorthand writer, was one of the best men of his day at longhand to take down, in good newspaper form, the substance of a debate as it proceeded, being an able man and having an intimate knowledge of the topics of the day. His partner, Mr. Kinnear, also had a seat in the gallery—at the far end—and attended with great regularity. Mr. Gordon Brown, now of Osgoode Hall, was also on duty afternoon and night for the better part of the time when the long and interesting debates on the "Rights of Upper Canada" were in progress.

The late Josiah Blackburn, of the *London Free Press*, was among the reporters on the Liberal side. The *Leader* and the *Colonist* were the chief papers represented in the then Ministerial side of the gallery (which was to the left of the Speaker), the principal shorthand writers being Mr. Greig and Mr. Charles Belford, both deceased, and William Coldwell, who was, in addition, a House reporter. Taking his press, type and outfit by ox-team across the prairie from St. Paul to Winnipeg (then Fort Garry), Coldwell afterward became the pioneer of the press in the North-west, in conjunction with Mr. Buckingham. Charles Lindsay, one of the registrars for Toronto, was a frequent visitor, as was George Sheppard, the editor of the *Colonist*. The latter, after the writing of the famous article in the *Colonist* headed, "Whither are we drifting?" joined for a time the editorial staff of the *Globe*. Thus with George Brown, Gordon Brown, the Hon. Wm. McDougall, and George Sheppard, the Liberal organ had a force of strong and able men. Mr. Sheppard was afterwards connected with the *Hamilton Times* and the *New York Times*. He went from the *New York Times* to London, England, and has resided there almost ever since. He lately came over again to America, but has retired from active journalism. Another occasional visitor was Mr. Huntington, before he became a member of the House and an "Honorable." He was then writing for an eastern townships paper.

The trials of contested elections by committees, and the transference of them at times to the floor of the House, with the

examination of witnesses at the bar, greatly protracted the business of Parliament, but were a relief to the reporters, as one member of the staff was quite able to follow the questions and answers; every question being in writing, and the answers being taken down in writing by Mr. Lindsay, who was clerk of the House.

The Legislative Council was reported by Mr. Le Sueur, at that time Superintendent of the Money Order branch of the Post Office Department, who was a good reporter in longhand, and a scholarly man, possessing an excellent knowledge of French as well as English.

Mr. A. M. Burgess, of the Department of the Interior, Ottawa, was a shorthand writer on the *Globe* at one time, and was afterward an official reporter of the Parliament debates.

There was a good deal of transcribing of speeches in the Lower House, as the *Globe* required many speeches of great length *in extenso*, but the accommodation in the shape of the retiring rooms for the reporters was simply wretched, and this was constantly being encroached upon. The day and night work during the long sessions in Toronto of 1858 and 1859 was something awful, an old newspaper man writes me.

The occupants of the gallery since Confederation include nearly all of the leading newspaper men of Toronto, and indeed of the Dominion—such as William Inglis (now assistant librarian of the Legislative library), A. H. Dymond, principal of the Institute for the Blind at Brantford, N. F. Davin, M.P., William Houston, W. F. McLean, M.P., R. W. Phipps, C. D. Barr, late of the *Lindsay Post*, James Innes, M.P., now of the *Guelph Mercury*, J. T. Hawke, of the Moncton, N. B. *Transcript*, J. B. McCready, editor of the *St. John Telegraph*, Molyneux St. John, at present connected with the Canadian Pacific Railway, C. W. Bunting, managing editor of the *Toronto Mail*, as well as a majority of the present Hansard staff. It would be invidious as well as difficult to include all the names.

In many senses the reporters' gallery has been a training school for the successful journalists of to-day. Certain it is that the press galleries, with their long list of occupants during the

past sixty years, have played a not unimportant part in bringing about the reforms that emanated from the legislators below them.

A great advance upon the old quarters in the Front-street building is seen in the new building, where a deep gallery, running across the southern end of the chamber, has been set apart for the use of the press, in addition to two adjoining rooms.

In concluding this brief chapter it may be well to insert the names of those who compose the staff first using the new gallery.

Empire.—H. Burrows, W. H. Dickson, P. F. Cronin and C. T. Long.

Globe.—J. Kelso, George Simpson, J. E. Atkinson S. T. Wood.

Mail.—Alex. Fraser, J. A. Currie, Alex. Smith, J. Jackson.

World.—W. Wilkinson.

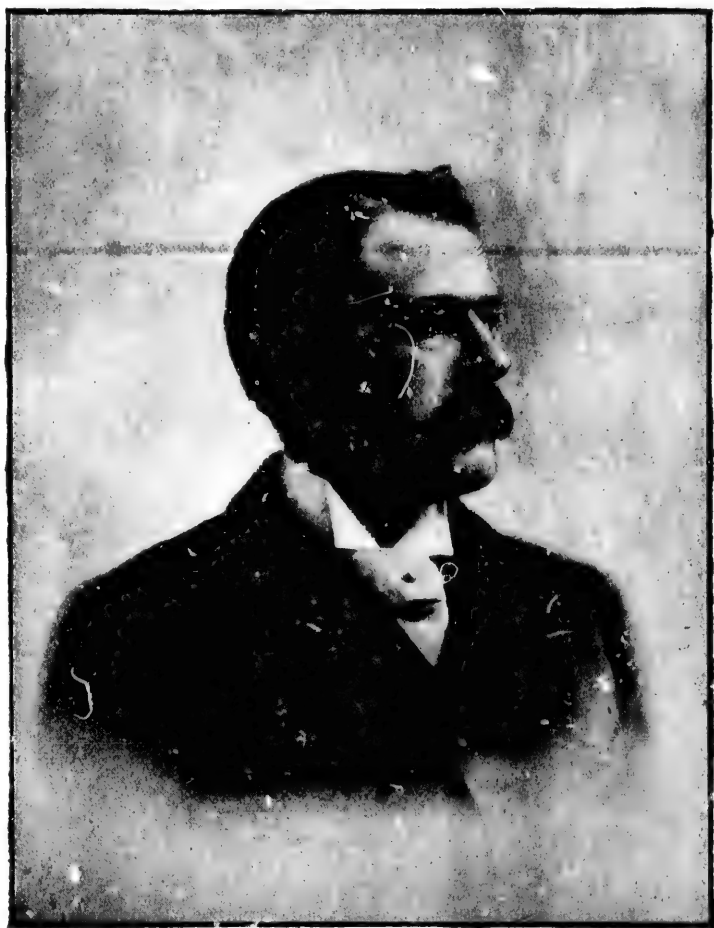
Telegram.—John Robinson, Roden Kingsmill.

News.—A. M. Burns, Charles Ryan.

Star.—Thomas Gregg, J. Hamilton.



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Hon. G. A. Kirkpatrick, Lieutenant-Governor of Ontario, 1893.



CHAPTER VIII.

THE LIEUTENANT-GOVERNORS AND THEIR HOMES.

THE biographies of the seven men who occupied the Lieutenant-Governorship from 1792 to 1841—Simcoe, Hunter, Gore, Maitland, Colborne, Bond Head and Arthur—when read together, give a key-note to the ideas and policy of the English Government regarding their North American colony, and emphasize a fact that perhaps needs no emphasis, viz., that it is difficult for an executive in an old land, with long-established customs and precedents, to legislate intelligently for, or control in the wisest manner, an adjunct of the British Empire three thousand miles distant. The practice of rewarding men who had acquired fame in connection with the army, by appointing them to the Lieutenant Governorship of Upper Canada did not conduce to the best results for the new province. As a rule, the soldier-governor was not only out of touch with the citizen-settler, but the attempt of the former to set up a sort of court did much to create a gulf between the governors and the governed.

That there were exceptions to this general statement is also true, especially in the case of Simcoe, who, while he maintained a certain old-world dignity in connection with his high office, proved himself to be a wise statesman and a high-minded administrator, ever zealous for the inauguration of new conditions and the development of the province. It is difficult to realize the amount of work he crowded into the six years he held office here, and the record of his labors in Upper Canada, as ably detailed by his biographer, Mr. D. B. Read, confirms the encomium of the latter that Simcoe ranked high as a citizen, soldier and administrator.

Passing over any further reference to the administrators and presidents than is contained in preceding chapters, a few additional paragraphs may be given regarding the Lieutenant-Governors and their official residences. The Lieutenant-Governor following Simcoe was Peter Hunter, who was in addition Commander-in-Chief for the province, and who peregrinated between York and Quebec. While occupying Government House in York, he exercised an authority in contrast to that of President Russell, inasmuch as the conduct of public affairs was much more satisfactory in the issuing of long-delayed patents, and in other ways. Governor Hunter's administration was highly successful, and his qualities of resoluteness and justice as marked as his unswerving integrity, and we can well believe the statement that "in the course of a few years he brought the infant colony to an unparalleled state of prosperity."

Upon the death of Governor Hunter, Francis Gore was sent from England to succeed him, and during his long though interrupted term of office, he proved the unwisdom of the home Government in its choice of a ruler. With him might was often right, and, with his official power, the former triumphed over the latter. During his first term of six years he came in sharp conflict with many of the inhabitants, and, viewed in the light of history, acted an unwise part in his seeming persecution of those who opposed his opinions or his rule. The result was an antagonism between him and the public that largely militated against the good he might have done, and that did much to inaugurate the schism between the public and "the family compact," that afterward developed into an incipient revolution. Gore is described as the type of a country squire of a former day, looking good-humored, and shrewd, sturdy and self-willed, and fond of good cheer. His self-will rather than his good humor was illustrated on the occasion when he carried out his threat to "dismiss the rascals," the rascals being no less than the members of the legislature who had dared to vote adversely to his opinions. An entry in the Journals reads: "On Monday, 7th April, at eleven o'clock a.m., before the minutes of the former day were read and without any previous notice, the Commons, to

the great surprise of all the members, were summoned to the bar of the Legislative Council, when His Excellency put an end to the Session," upon the ground that their longer absence from their respective avocations would be too great a sacrifice! The Squire-like Governor left York on leave of absence in 1811, returning in 1815 and remaining until 1818, when he returned again to England.

In 1818, Sir Peregrine Maitland arrived on the scene and held office for a period of ten years, during which time the Family Compact flourished, and the struggle for responsible Government was carried on between the Governor and his executive on one hand, and the "fathers of reform" on the other. Maitland was, first of all, the military officer, a descendent of a noble family, with inherited military instincts. Dr. Scadding thus describes him from memory! "Here (in St. James' Church) with great regularity was to be seen passing to and from the place of honor assigned him, Sir Peregrine Maitland, a tall, grave officer, always in military undress, his countenance ever wearing a mingled expression of sadness and benevolence, like that which one may observe on the face of Charles the Tenth, whose portrait recalls the whole head and figure of this early Governor of Upper Canada."

Like Sir Francis Bond Head a few years later, Sir Peregrine found a troublesome and ever-annoying opponent in William Lyon Mackenzie, who attacked the Governor in the columns of the *Colonial Advocate*. Sir Peregrine, as one means of revenge, ordered the foundation stone of Brock's monument to be opened, and the obnoxious sheet removed and destroyed. In his numerous conflicts with his opponents, the Governor would no doubt justify himself in the arbitrary course he frequently took, and the vigorous, if unusual, methods he adopted. His government of the province called down upon him the strictures of the opponents of the Family Compact, while historians, such as Dent, sum up his work as "ten years of misrule." He was probably ill-fitted, either by training or temperament, to adapt himself to the conditions and necessities of a new colony, and his transfer to Nova Scotia was a wise move on the part of the Home Government.

Sir John Colborne followed Sir Peregrine Maitland, and reigned for six years as the head of the province and the master of Elmsley House. Sir John was the counterpart of the Duke of Wellington in appearance, except that the former was the taller, being six feet one in height,—a fine physical specimen of a man. One slight defect was noticeable in his otherwise symmetrical features, occasioned by an injury to one of his eyes, received in battle. He was in every sense a soldier, in training, bearing and aptitude, being one of the most noted generals of the Peninsular War, while some historians attribute the winning of Waterloo to Sir John and his Fifty-Second Regiment. To be the general of "the greatest regiment known in arms since arms were first borne by men" was to him no doubt the fulfilment of a high ambition. He was, too, a man of scholarly tastes, a great student of history, and an apt linguist. Mrs. Jamieson has written of him that his mind appeared to her to be cast in an antique mold of chivalrous honor, and that he was a man whom she always heard mentioned with great respect and veneration. Like his predecessor, he occupied the Governor's pew in St. James' church—a canopied section, over which was suspended a tablet bearing the royal arms. He always exhibited great simplicity of character, and a dislike to ostentation. In every respect he made a model and able Governor, his administration of affairs in Upper Canada adding not a little to the high reputation he had won for himself.

Probably no occupant of Government House had so many problems to face, or so many difficulties to meet, as Sir Francis Bond Head, who reached Toronto on the 23rd of January, 1836, and who remained until 1838. From first to last his chief *bête noir* was William Lyon Mackenzie, regarding whom he uses the strongest terms the English language affords. "He is, without exception, the most notorious liar in all our country," the Governor writes in his Narrative. "He lies out of every pore in his skin. Whether he be sleeping or waking, on foot or on horseback, talking with his neighbors or writing for a newspaper, a multitudinous swarm of lies, visible, palpable and tangible, are buzzing and settling about him like flies around a horse in August." Similar expressions of contempt by the score figure in the Gov-

ernor's pages, from "that insignificant pedlar-lad" to "this low-bred, vulgar man." He calls him in addition "an unprincipled vagrant, a grievance-monger, a broken-down pedlar, an arch-agitator," and in Mackenzie's grievance report of 553 pages, there existed, in the expressed opinion of the knight of Government House, more than three times as many gross falsehoods as pages ! The Narrative (of nearly 500 pages) is intended by Sir Francis as a vindication of the course he pursued during the troublous times of 1836-8; or, in his words, "the most violent, and certainly the most eventful, moral struggle that has ever taken place in our North American colonies." By June of 1836 he had tendered his resignation to Lord Glenelg, though the change in the complexion of parties, resulting from the election of 1836, when the "constitutionists" were forty-five in number, and the "republicans" seventeen, raised his spirits and his hopes of a speedy settlement of the difficulties that surrounded him. But the threatened troubles came to a head in the following year, reference to which has already been made in Chapter VI.

Sir Francis was known to be the best horseman in England, and it is not to be wondered at, therefore, that he traversed the greater part of the province on horseback, and when in Toronto took for a daily constitutional a canter or trot around the Humber Plains, as the route was called, that is, crossing the Humber near the lake, and returning *via* Lambton Mills, a distance of ten or twelve miles. It also follows that his stables contained the best animals that could be obtained.

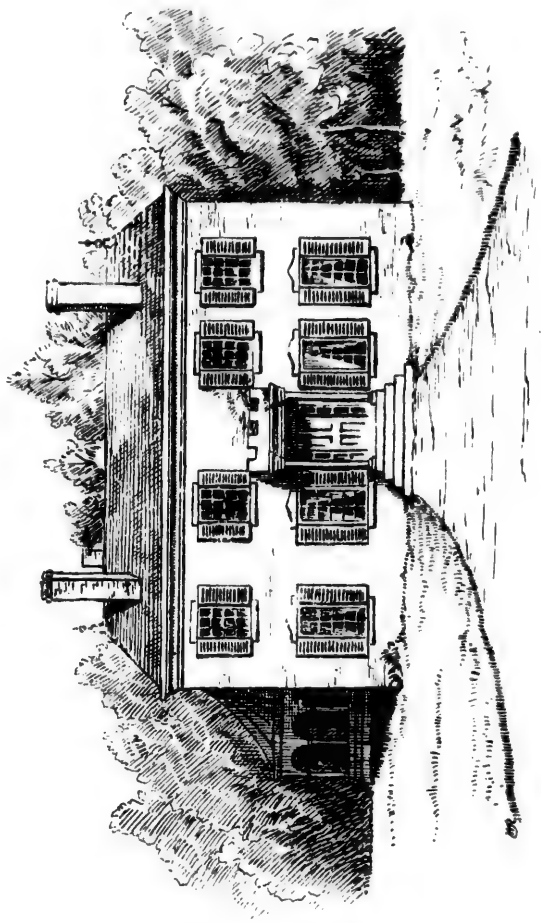
Sir Francis was a distinguished engineer as well. He was, in fact, first brought to public notice by blowing up a lot of houses in Edinburgh to prevent the spreading of a fire, it being the first time such a feat of engineering, if it may be so termed, was attempted. He afterwards added to his fame by crossing the Andes in the interests of English shareholders in South American mines.

The arrival of a newly-appointed Lieutenant-Governor was always the occasion for a felicitous address, and Sir Francis was no exception to the rule. In the "Emigrant" he gives an interesting account of a presentation of an address to him by the

House of Assembly in the old Chamber: "Within a week after my arrival at Toronto," he writes, "I had to receive an address from the Speaker and Commons' House of Assembly; and on enquiring in what manner I was to perform the part in the ceremony allotted to me, I was informed that I was to sit very still on a large scarlet chair, with my hat on. The first half was evidently an easy job; but the latter was really revolting to my habits and feelings, and as I thought I ought to try and govern by my head and not by my hat, I felt convinced that the former would risk nothing by being for a few minutes divorced from the latter, and accordingly I determined with white gloves to hold the thing in my hands. I happened to mention my intention to an Upper Canadian, and never shall I forget the look of silent scorn with which he listened to me. I really quite quailed beneath the reproof, which, without the utterance of a word, and after scanning me from head to foot, his mild, intelligent, faithful countenance read to me, and which but too clearly expressed—'What! to purchase five minutes' loathsome popularity, will you barter one of the few remaining prerogatives of the British Crown? Will you, for the vain hope of conciliating insatiable democracy, meanly sell to it one of the distinctions of your station? Miserable man! beware, before it is too late, of surrendering piecemeal that which it is your duty to maintain, and for which, after all, you will only receive in exchange contumely and contempt.' I remained for a few seconds as mute as my Canadian mentor, and then, without taking any notice of the look with which he had been chastising me, I spoke to him on some other subjects, but I did not forget the picture I had seen, and accordingly my hat was tight enough on my head when the Speaker bowed to it, and I shall ever feel indebted to that man for the sound political lesson he taught me."

Sir Francis' term of office came to an end, as has been said, in 1838, when his resignation was accepted, after Lord Durham had made his report, in which the Governor was more or less reflected upon. The latter took occasion in his works to defend himself, and, in turn, to animadvert upon Lord Durham's methods of examining into the state of the country, and of the conclusions he arrived at.

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Elmaley Villa, occupied by Lord Elgin in 1849-51.

His Excellency's successor was Sir George Arthur, who was the last Lieutenant-Governor to occupy Government House before the Union Act of 1841 came into force. The new Governor had the fate of the convicted insurgents largely in his hands, and his previous experience of governing in British Honduras and Van Dieman's Land had not tended to fill him with overmuch charity towards transgressors of the law, though in his first public address he said that magnanimity rather than harshness and severity would be his policy. Despite this, the law was allowed to take its course, and Lount and Matthews were executed, while others were sentenced to imprisonment or transportation.

With the union of the two provinces Sir George Arthur's duties came to an end, and for nine years, and until Lord Elgin came as Governor-General of the united provinces, Government House had no official occupants. Sir Edmund Head followed Elgin as Governor-General in 1855-59. When Confederation was accomplished, the present Government House was erected upon the site of Elmsley House, with Major-General Stisted as the first occupant, in 1867, followed by Sir W. P. Howland in 1868, Hon. John Crawford in 1873, Hon. D. A. Macdonald in 1877, Hon. John Beverley Robinson in 1881, Sir Alexander Campbell in 1888, and Hon. George A. Kirkpatrick in 1892.

The homes of the Lieutenant-Governors, presidents and administrators appointed to rule over the destinies of Ontario during the century are worthy of a reference. Navy Hall, at Newark, has the honor of being the first Upper Canadian official residence, where Simcoe resided. The first Government House in York was the canvas tent erected by Governor Simcoe when he first visited York, and which he occupied temporarily until his residence was built on the banks of the Don, known as Castle Frank. Among the first permanent buildings constructed was a Government House in close proximity to the powder magazine and French fort at the western end of the embryo town, while the parliament buildings stood at the extreme eastern end. The Governor's residence met a similar fate to the legislative halls when the Americans invaded the town—not by fire only, however, but the explosion of the powder magazine effectually shat-

tered and riddled Government House and its surrounding one-story structures, but its inmates having escaped in good time no loss of life occurred, such as happened at the powder magazine.

Following Simcoe, Russell, Hunter, Grant and Brock presided in this pioneer Government House, until its fall as above described.

Afterward, the frame residence of Chief Justice Elmsley, situated at the south-west corner of King and Simcoe-streets, and known as Elmsley House, was purchased and converted into a Government House. Between 1813 and the union of 1841 this building was used as an official residence by five Lieutenant-Governors, Sir Francis Gore, Sir Peregrine Maitland, Sir John Colborne, Sir Francis Bond Head and Sir George Arthur. It was last used by Sir Edmund Head in 1854, when the peregrinating parliament met in the Front-street buildings. Before its destruction by fire, Elmsley House was bricked in, and thus greatly improved in appearance.

Another official residence for a time was Elmsley Villa, which stood near where the Central Presbyterian church now stands, on Gloucester-street. Lord Elgin occupied it in 1844-5, upon his arrival in Toronto after the burning of the parliament buildings in Montreal, which necessitated the meeting of the parliament in Toronto. Elmsley Villa was built by Captain Macaulay, and after Lord Elgin left Toronto it was used by Knox College.

Beverley House is associated with the name of Poulett Thomson, afterward Lord Sydenham, who was given the title of Baron Sydenham, of Sydenham, in Kent and Toronto, in Canada, and who resided in it in 1839-40. This residence still stands on the north-east corner of John and Richmond-streets. One careful historian has recorded the fact that the Governor-General brought about the union of 1840 because he had built a large kitchen at the rear of the residence and desired to remain in Toronto to enjoy it. He died in 1841, at the early age of 42, from the injuries received by falling from a horse just on the eve of his intended return to England. Beverley House was evidently a social centre during Lord Sydenham's régime, with his three company dinners a week and a weekly reception.

The Government House of to-day was built in 1867, on the

completion of Confederation, by the Sandfield Macdonald Government, at a cost of \$100,000, the Hon. John Carling being the Commissioner of Public Works, and the late John Elliott, of Brantford, the contractor.

The memories of many interesting incidents cluster around these vice-regal mansions, especially in connection with the social and military life of those early days when, as now, the hospitality was unbounded, and the scenes of gaiety are still held in special remembrance by those who live to tell of them. They were often, too, the meeting place of the Executive Council and, on rare occasions, of the Legislative Council, when the troubles of 1837 were developing, and secret and emergency meetings of both the Executive and the Council were held to consider the unwonted situation.

Military scenes also played a prominent part within the walls, not only when military balls were given, but on occasions such as when Sir Peregrine Maitland presented a stand of colors to the West York Militia on the anniversary of St. George, amid a royal salute and the cheers of the onlookers, or Sir Francis Bond Head had a flag-raising soon after his arrival.

LIST OF THE GOVERNORS-GENERAL OF CANADA.

YR.	FRENCH.	TITLE.	YR.	BRITISH.	TITLE.
1540	Jacques Cartier.....	Captain General.	1781	H. Hamilton.....	{ Lt. Gov. and Com- mander-in-Chief.
1566	Marquis de la Roche..	Lieut. Gen. and Vice- roy of New France.	1785	H. Hops.....	
1593	{ Sieur Chauvin.....	" "	1793	Lord Dorchester.....	Governor General.
1606	{ Capitain Pontgrave.....	" "	1796	General Prescott.....	
1636	Captain S. de Champlain	" and Commandant	1799	Sir E. S. Miles.....	Lieutenant Gov.
1647	Sieur Montmagny.....	Governor & Lt. Gen.	1807	Sir J. Craig.....	
1650	" Dallebous.....	" "	1811	Hon. T. Dunn.....	Governor General.
1667	Sieur d'Argenson.....	" "	1811	Sir C. Prevost.....	Governor General.
1681	Sieur d'Avaugour.....	Governor.	1816	Sir J. C. Sherbrooke..	"
1683	" de Mesy.....	Governor & Lt. Gen.	1818	Duke of Richmond....	"
1683	Marquis de Tracy.....	Lieutenant General.	1814	Hon. James Monk.....	President.
1684	Sieur de Courcelles....	Governor & Lt. Gen.	1830	Earl of Dalhousie....	Governor General.
1678	{ Comte de Frontenac..	" "	1824	Sir F. M. Burton.....	Lieutenant Gov.
1682	{ Sieur de la Salle.....	" "	1825	Earl of Dalhousie....	Governor General.
1682	Sieur de la Barre.....	" "	1828	Sir James Kemp.....	"
1684	Marquis Denonville....	" "	1830	Lord Aylmer.....	"
1686	Comte de Frontenac....	" "	1835	Earl of Gosford.....	"
1690	Chev. de Callieres.....	" "	1838	Sir John Colborne....	Administrator.
1703	Marq. de Vaudreuil.....	" "	1838	Earl of Durham.....	G. Gen. & Lt. H. Com.
1730	" de Beauharnois.....	" "	1838	Sir John Colborne....	Administrator.
1746	" de la Jonquiere.....	" "	1839	Lord Sydenham.....	Governor General.
1747	Comte de la Galissoniere	Lieutenant General.	1842	Sir Charles Bagot.....	"
1782	Marq. du Quesne.....	Governor & Lt. Gen.	1843	Sir Charles Metcalfe..	Ad. & Com. in-Chief
1788	" de Vaudreuil.....	" "	1846	Lord Oathart.....	
1766	JAMES MURRAY.....	Governor.	1847	Earl of Elgin.....	Governor General.
1766	P. M. Irvine.....	President.	1846	Sir Edmund Head.....	"
1786	Guy Carleton.....	{ Lt. Gov. and Com- mander-in-Chief	1861	Lord Monck.....	"
1770	H. J. Cramahoe.....	President.	1868	Lord Liger.....	"
1774	Guy Carleton.....	{ Lt. Gov. and Com- mander-in-Chief.	1872	Lord Dufferin.....	"
1778	F. Baldwin.....	" "	1875	Marquis of Lorne.....	"
			1884	Lord Lansdowne.....	"
			1890	Lord Stanley.....	"

UPPER CANADA—FROM THE DIVISION IN 1791 TO THE UNION IN 1841.

YR.	NAMES.	TITLE.	YR.	NAMES.	TITLE.
1792	Col. John Graves Simcoe	Lieutenant Gov.	1813	Sir Gordon Drummond..	Lieutenant Gov.
1796	Hon. Peter Russell.....	President.	1815	Sir George Murray.....	" "
1799	Lt. Gen. Peter Hunter..	Lieutenant Gov.	1815	Sir F. Philippe Robinson.	" "
1799	Chief Justice Emsley..	Administrator.	1816	Sir Francis Gore.....	Lieutenant Gov.
1806	Hon. Alexander Grant..	President.	1819	Hon. Samuel Smith.....	Administrator.
1806	Francis Gore.....	Lieutenant Gov.	1819	Sir Peregrine Maitland..	Lieutenant Gov.
1811	Sir Isaac Brock.....	President.	1823	Sir John Colborne.....	"
1812	Sir R. Hale Sheaffe.....	"	1836	Sir Francis Bond Head..	"
1813	MGu. F. B. de Rottenburg	"	1838	Sir George Arthur.....	"

ONTARIO—FROM CONFEDERATION IN 1867 TO DATE.

YR.	NAMES.	TITLE.	YR.	NAMES.	TITLE.
1867	Major-General Stisted..	Lieutenant Gov.	1891	Hon. J. B. Robinson....	Lieutenant Gov.
1868	Sir W. P. Howland.....	"	1888	Sir Alexander Campbell..	"
1878	Hon. John Crawford....	"	1892	Hon. G. A. Kirkpatrick	"
1877	Hon. D. A. Macdonald..	"			

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Hon. Edward Blake.



CHAPTER IX.

THE "PRIVILEGES" OF THE HOUSE.

EVER since the day the first parliament was evolved from the rude conditions of feudalism, the members thereof have observed a stern jealousy of their "privileges," as they have been termed—a jealousy so stern and implacable, in fact, as to cause many an offending commoner and citizen to lament his attempt to infringe upon them or to dispute their right of existence.

The parliamentarians of our own Upper Canadian Legislature were no less watchful of these sacred and vested rights. Before the second session of the first Parliament had been prorogued in 1793, Sheriff Sheehan, of the Niagara District, was made a subject of censure by the House for having served a writ of *capias* upon a member "contrary to his privilege," and the offending officer was only excused from having to appear at the bar of the House, to be further dealt with, from a conviction that want of reflection, and not contempt, had made him guilty of such a marked infringement upon the aforesaid "privileges."

The Sheriff of the Home District and his deputy had a narrow escape from perpetrating a similar error in 1812, when, at the instance of William Warren Baldwin, a barrister, they were asked to serve a writ of *capias* on Alexander McDonell, the member for Glengarry, and also the Speaker. Thereupon all connected with the "outrage" were summoned before Parliament. Baldwin audaciously insisted that a member of the House was not entitled to the privilege of non-arrest, as it was a House of Assembly only, and not a House of Parliament. John Small, Clerk of the Crown, who administered the oath (taken by a Mrs. Jordan), pleaded ignorance of his error and prayed for pardon.

but dismissal was the penalty meted out to him. Baldwin, it seems, came under the direct control of the Legislative Council as Master in Chancery, and forfeiture of his office was his share of the penalties, but after a few days Baldwin was restored to office at the request of the Assembly, the members feeling, no doubt, that he had had a salutary lesson.

If the members of the two Houses held strong opinions regarding their privileges, the Governors of the province were no less emphatic as to *their* exclusive rights. Simcoe, for instance, was in a constant state of conflict with Lord Dorchester, who was stationed at Quebec as the Commander of the North American forces. They not only differed as to the best means of serving the public interests, but Simcoe petulantly declared that "he understood neither His Lordship's military or civil views in respect to Upper Canada," and asked the Home Government to give him leave to act direct and independent of the Commander-in-Chief; but this request was refused, while many of Simcoe's ambitious and progressive schemes for the betterment of the province were either ignored or decided against. Writing direct to Dorchester, the incensed Governor of Navy Hall tells him that had he, Simcoe, known that all his views as to the public service were held to be erroneous and to be checked, he could not have held office; and these differences of opinion only ended when Simcoe left Upper Canada for another sphere of labor.

The House of 1806 had a complaint that the first and most constitutional privilege of the Commons had been violated in the application of moneys out of the Provincial Treasury to various purposes without the assent of Parliament, or a vote of the Commons House of Assembly. The latter memorialized the Lieutenant-Governor as follows: "To comment on this departure from constituted authority and fiscal establishment must be more than painful to all who appreciate the advantages of our happy Constitution, and who wish their continuance to the latest posterity; but however studious we may be to abstain from stricture we cannot suppress the mixed emotions of relative condition; we feel it as the representatives of a free people, we lament it as the subjects of a beneficent Sovereign, and we hope that you, in your

relation to both, will more than sympathize in so extraordinary an occurrence. We beg leave to annex hereto a schedule of the moneys so misapplied, amounting to six hundred and thirteen pounds, thirteen shillings and sevenpence, and trust that you will not only order that sum to be replaced in the Provincial Treasury, but will also direct that no moneys be issued thereout in future without the assent of Parliament, or a vote of the Commons House of Assembly."

The absence of members without sufficient reason from their parliamentary duties was looked upon by those in attendance with a disapprobation as marked as that manifested when a flagrant breach of privilege occurred or was suspected. More than half of the members of the first parliament of 1792 failed to respond to the summons to appear in Newark on the 17th of September of that year, but no special notice was taken of absentees until the next session, when Christopher Robinson, Timothy Thompson, Richard Wilkinson, John McDonell, Thomas Smith, Thomas McKee and Mr. Hardison were severally named three times in succession without any of them appearing. The time had come to deal with a matter so serious. Robinson, Hardison and McDonell were, upon motion, excused on the ground of illness, but as to the others, the House went into committee of the whole to adopt proper measures for compelling their attendance.

For many sessions thereafter the House felt itself called upon to deal with representatives who did not attend to their public duties, and investigations into the cause of non-appearance were frequently held. A new method of bringing the offenders to time was adopted in 1810, when the absentees were to be considered as being in the custody of the Sergeant-at-Arms, and were not to be discharged until they should pay the customary fees established in the Parliament of the United Kingdom in like cases, unless they could show to the satisfaction of the House sufficient cause for their absence. This cure proved to be ineffective, and at last the exasperated House ordered medical attendants to examine Benajah Mallory, Philip Sovereign, Joseph Willcocks, John Roblin, and John and James Wilson, and report the state of their health to the Bar of the House. Doctors Richardson and Lee

were assigned to this task, and reported that while one was really indisposed and unable to attend, the rest would be sufficiently recovered to be present the following day, the inference being that the latter had been feigning illness.

Another breach of privilege was that of which Robert Nichol was guilty in 1812. Nichol, as a road commissioner, fell foul of the House in the criticisms passed by the latter upon his work, and the expenditure of public moneys entrusted to him. Not only did he use words disrespectful to the House, but he was also adjudged guilty of "making a false, malicious, and scandalous representation to the person administering the Government, relative to the proceedings of the House." Added to all this was the further denial of the right of the Assembly to commit an offender for an alleged breach of privilege. But committed he was for his "high contempt," and out of that action arose another insult to the House on the part of the Hon. Thomas Scott, Chief Justice, who liberated Nichol after the House had committed him and sent the Sergeant-at-Arms to Long Point, at a cost of £35, to arrest Nichol. So strong was the feeling aroused that the House petitioned the Prince Regent in reference to the action of the Chief Justice.

It was about this same time that the Commons petitioned Governor Gore in reference to another insult offered not only to them, but to the whole country, by one John Mills Jackson, who appears to have been a disturbing pamphleteer. Their petition read as follows:—

To His Excellency, Francis Gore, Esq., Lieutenant-Governor of the Province of Upper Canada. May it please Your Excellency,

We, His Majesty's dutiful and loyal subjects, the Commons of Upper Canada, in Parliament assembled, beg leave to assure Your Excellency of our approbation of Your Excellency's administration of the government of this province, which, since your arrival among us, has increased in wealth, prosperity and commerce far exceeding our most sanguine expectations, aided by your wise and liberal exertions to promote the same. We should not intrude upon Your Excellency at this time to express the general

sentiment of the people of this province, did not we feel ourselves called upon and impelled by a sense of that duty which we owe to our constituents, His Majesty's loyal subjects of this province, to you, sir, as administering the Government thereof, and to that august Sovereign whom we regard as the father of his people, only to express our abhorrence and indignation at a pamphlet now before us, addressed to the King, Lords and Commons of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, containing in almost every page the most gross and false aspersions on Your Excellency and His Majesty's Executive Government, the House of Assembly, and the loyal inhabitants of this province, under the signature of John Mills Jackson, tending to misrepresent a brave and loyal portion of His Majesty's subjects.

The Commons of Upper Canada, as the organ of the people, consider the author and publisher of such false and libellous pamphlets as a character endeavoring to alienate the minds of the unwary from His Majesty's Government, and to diminish the parental affection of His Majesty to his liege subjects in this province, which with gratitude we proudly acknowledge to have experienced an ample and abundant share of.

In addressing Your Excellency we feel a satisfaction in repeating our approbation of Your Excellency's administration of this Government, without entering into the details, which would exceed the bounds of an address.

(Signed) SAMUEL STREET,
Speaker.

Jackson was thereupon ordered, like all previous offenders, to the Bar, to answer to the charge laid against him.

The Toronto public library recently secured copies of all of Jackson's pamphlets, with, strange to say, Shelley's autograph on the front page of each.

In 1816 the Speaker of the House was the recipient of a special address from the members on the ground that he had entertained a high and just sense of the firm and dignified conduct required of a Speaker, inasmuch as they had had unprecedented difficulty in maintaining their rights and privileges. Even a Speaker who was master of conduct so "firm and dignified" could not appar-

ently prevent trouble, for a motion was carried in the following session demanding from the Lieutenant-Governor the rights and privileges of the House, as amply as they were enjoyed by the House of Commons in Great Britain.

The session of 1817 was an unusually protracted one, owing to the lengthy discussions of a case of breach of privilege, as well as two contested election trials. During the previous Parliament the district of Gore had been erected, with two electoral divisions, the counties of Wentworth and Halton, but in the bill no provision had been made for their representation. This oversight had to be amended after the House met, subsequent to the general election, and the session was twenty days old before the members elected for Wentworth and Halton were able to take their seats. Moses Gamble's election for Halton was protested on the grounds of his being an alien, Henry John Boulton, the defeated candidate, being the petitioner, and Gamble, after a hot fight, was unseated.

The case of James Durand, member elect for Wentworth, was much worse than Gamble's. He had been a member from the Niagara District in the former Parliament, and in his address "to the independent electors of the county of Wentworth," printed in the *St. David's Spectator*, he made reference which was charged to be "a Breach of Privilege, in that it reflected grossly on the conduct of the late House of Assembly, and upon persons who were members of the present House." A motion to enquire into the matter was made immediately upon Durand's introduction to the Assembly, and the case took up the major portion of the session. In the address Durand had given a résumé of the grievances of the people under martial law, which was, he claimed, unlawfully declared by Major-General de Rottenburg in 1813, from the suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act, and the oppression of the military. His denunciations of both measures and men throughout the address were scathing, and his disapprobation of his opponents stood out in marked contrast to his approval of himself. He finished his long arraignment by setting forth his own fitness as a representative in a style so remarkable, that though lengthy, it is worthy of being quoted as showing the nature of the campaign literature of that early day :

"When your rights and liberties were in danger I never hid my head; and as to the votes of money last year, had I opposed them I should only have been a scapegoat in the House. The mysteries of courts, and the various intrigues employed to gain favorite points are numerous. It would be novel and useless to develop them all. It is enough for you to keep a good watch-dog to guard your flocks from the hungry wolves. This I know, that the line of duty to you, which I have uniformly pursued, has obliged me to drop off exchanges of civility with many who I can in no other way have offended than in differing with them on the score of politics. I have been settled in this province upward of fourteen years, without, I trust, any one to impeach my character with spot or blemish. My abilities are not of the most inferior class; you have seen me in various public points of view, at the head of a flank company of brave, gallant militiamen, whose services at the commencement of the war called forth public thanks in general orders after the battle of Queenston, and whom I hope I never disgraced. I was out on duty the very last time the enemy showed themselves, under McArthur. * You have seen me as President of Courts Martial, where I always tempered justice with lenity. You have seen me as Commissioner of Roads. If in any of these situations I have evinced anything unfriendly to the yeomanry of the country, you will know it. But no, fellow-subjects, 'twas impossible. Whilst I esteem you so much, I never could be false to you. I shall conclude with the assurance that I am still the object of your choice. My unremitted endeavors shall be used for your interest and welfare. I shall stand firm in support of your rights and liberties, and in so doing, I conceive I give the best proof of my inviolable attachment to our glorious Constitution. The happiness of the people is the strength of the state, and their happiness consists in the absence of taxation, simplicity of manners, and proper respect for religion, morality, and the laws of their country. Once more, then, my friends, I invite you to favor me with the honor of your suffrages; and by a long, strong, bold pull at one time convince the tools of corruption that the path to the people's patronage is honest independent conduct."

The Committee of Privilege in Durand's case met and rose again and again, and at length the House received the report and passed the following resolution: "Resolved, that James Durand, a member of this House, is the author of an address published in the *St. Catharines Spectator*, of Feb. 14, and which was a false, scandalous and malicious libel." Being adjudged guilty, he was on motion sentenced to be committed to the common gaol of the Home District during the session, a motion that he be called to the Bar of the House to make an apology, being defeated by a vote of 12 to 9. The Speaker issued his warrant, but when it came to be served, James Durand was not to be found. The day following the issuing of the warrant for his committal, a petition from Richard Beasley and other freeholders of the county of Wentworth was read in the House, setting forth that the name of James Durand did not appear on any assessment roll of the province, and that he was therefore ineligible to be their representative. This caused further enquiry, which was, however, ended by the expulsion from the House of the offending fugitive, for "high contempt of the authority of the House, and of a flagrant breach of its privileges."

Notwithstanding all this, and an indictment for perjury against him by the Grand Jury, Durand was re-elected in 1818, and took a very active part in the sessions of that Parliament.

Though so zealous of their privileges, the House sometimes showed great magnanimity when nothing was at stake, and did not stand out for the letter of their rights. In the session of 1817, when "An Act to prohibit the sale of goods, wares, wines, spirits, etc., on Sundays," was sent by the Assembly for the concurrence of the Council, which they passed with some amendments, the following motion was brought in: "That as the amendments made by the Honorable the Legislative Council to the bill for preventing the sale of spirituous liquors on Sundays, being a matter of form, and not in any wise interfering with the raising or disposing of any public money, this House will not insist upon its undoubted right to reject them, and that the said amendments be now read."

In 1818 Mr. Robert Charles Horne was called to the Bar of the

House to answer to a charge of having infringed upon the rights and privileges of the House in having published a certain advertisement in his paper, the *Upper Canada Gazette*, headed "Statutes of Upper Canada." Mr. Horne acknowledged the publication and an apology was demanded, which he straightway made, and that settled the matter.

As the years went by, however, and new conditions were regulated and altered into precedents and the rights of both representative and commoner were recognized and settled, conflicts between Parliament and the people were less frequent, until to-day a breach of privilege is as rare as an infringement upon the jealously-guarded rights of the Legislature.





CHAPTER X.

THE HONOR ROLL OF PARLIAMENTARIANS.

THAT a very large percentage of the public men of a country are called sooner or later to represent the people in Parliament, is clearly seen in the list of members to the Provincial Assembly from 1792 to 1892. With but few exceptions, all the leading men of Canada entered public life *via* "the bar of the House," and with equally few exceptions, nearly all who legislated for the province prior to Confederation have passed away. The survivors would hardly be sufficient in number to form a provincial cabinet.

It may be well to take a passing though necessarily incomplete glance at the honor roll of distinguished Canadians who served as provincial legislators.

As in the present day, the early parliaments had a large representation of professional men, the followers of Blackstone being probably in a majority. Thus, the list referred to comprises nearly all the leading members of the bar, and the legislative history therefore makes frequent mention of such old-time lawyers as Marshall Spring Bidwell, William Hume Blake, Robert Baldwin, Judge Hagerman and others, and it is not to be wondered at that the debates were often brilliant and eloquent when participated in by such accomplished orators.

The bar, the judiciary and the legislature have always been closely connected, and it is not surprising that the list of Upper Canadian judges during the century contains a large number of names prominent in the parliamentary as well as the judicial history of the province, in fact, of the thirty-one mentioned in

Read's "Lives of Upper Canada Judges," from 1792 to 1892, no less than twenty were members either of the Legislative Council or the Assembly, some of the first judges occupying a seat in Parliament and on the bench dually. Chief Justice Osgoode, after whom Osgoode Hall was named, was a member of the Legislative Council, as were Chief Justices Elmsley and Scott; Allcock and Thorpe were both judges and members; Chief Justice Robinson was councillor and Attorney-General before he was promoted to the bench; Chief Justices Draper and McLean were active members, as were Judges Hagerman, D'Arcy Boulton, Sherwood, Jonas Jones, Sullivan, John Wilson, Connor and O'Connor. Nearer our own time, Justice Joseph C. Morrison and Chief Justices Moss and Matthew Crooks Cameron were parliamentary representatives.

While the Union Act was in force, the Front street Chamber had among its occupants a group of brilliant and famous French Canadians—Sir A. A. Dorion, Sir Hector Langevin, Hon. Joseph Cauchon, Hon. L. V. Sicotte, Sir George E. Cartier, Mr. Lafontaine, Hon. Charles Alleyne, Hon. L. J. Papineau and others, and in the long-continued struggles between the Upper and Lower Canadian sections of the Assembly for the rights of their respective provinces, the members from the sister province were well to the front in the old Chamber as leaders, speakers and debaters.

Sir Antoine A. Dorion sat in the Toronto Chamber during the Parliament of 1855-9, and as a leader of the Rouge party of Quebec, became Attorney-General of the famous Brown-Dorion administration before which he was Commissioner of Crown Lands. He became member of the Privy Council in 1873, and latterly ended a fruitful and noble life as Chief Justice of Quebec.

Sir Hector Langevin entered Parliament while it met in Toronto in 1857, and soon became a force in the House. Mr. Sicotte exercised a special influence in connection with the clergy reserve question, became Speaker in 1854, was a member of the Taché-Macdonald Government, and also of the Cartier-Macdonald Administration. Cartier was another of the French-Canadian leaders, a man short of stature and "with an English

terrier look about him," as he has been described to me. With the usual French excitability, his speeches, especially in reply to attacks, were very combative, but without any pretence to oratory.

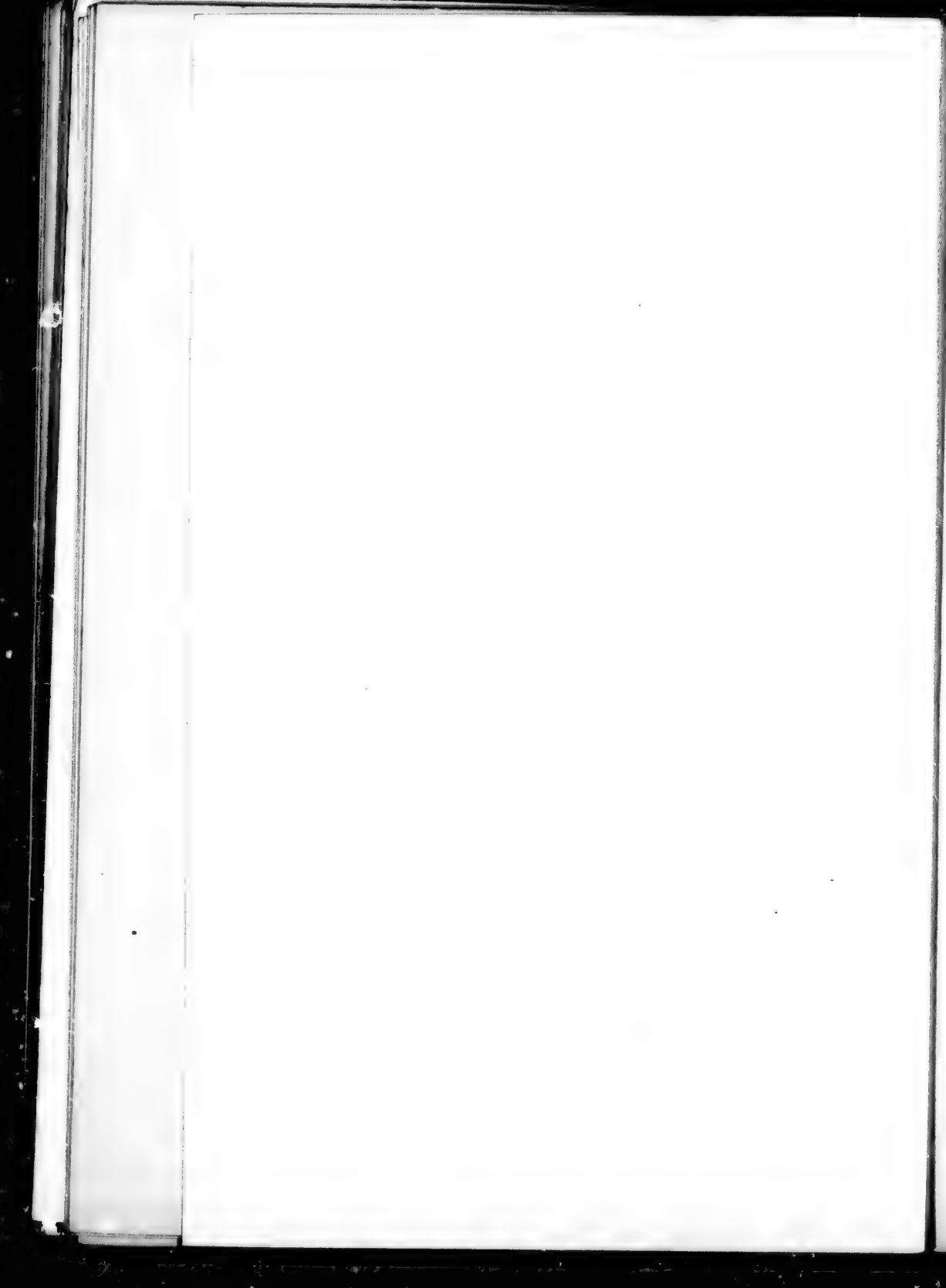
It is interesting to compare the different leaders as to their abilities as public speakers and public men. Robert Baldwin, while not a fluent speaker, yet was a convincing and logical one, his dignity, amounting almost to stiffness of manner, always commanding the attention of his hearers. He made his initial entry into parliamentary life in 1830, at a comparatively early age, as did Pitt and Gladstone, his candidature for York (vacated by the promotion of Sir John Beverly Robinson from the Attorney-Generalship to the Chief-Justiceship) being warmly espoused by William Lyon Mackenzie in the *Colonial Advocate*. The youthful member (he was only twenty-five at the time) was introduced to the House by his father, Dr. Baldwin, and Jesse Ketchum. Six years after he was a member of the Executive Council. No figure stands out more prominently, nor indeed more honorably, in the history of Upper Canadian politics than that of the man who did not so much achieve fame as the leader of the "Baldwin Reformers" in 1843, or the organizer and head of the Baldwin-Lafontaine Cabinet, as he did because of his unsullied integrity, personal worth and high purposes. He withdrew from public life in 1857 after nearly a quarter of a century of honorable service. One of his chief aims was long since reached, that of making the Executive responsible to the House.

William Hume Blake occupied the position of Solicitor-General in the Baldwin-Lafontaine Administration. When he arose to speak in the House it was felt that in genuine eloquence, passion, pathos, humor, sarcasm, irony, scorn, force—he was without a peer on the floor of the Legislature. Such is the strong testimony of his biographer. He left the political arena in 1830, when he was appointed vice-Chancellor of the Court of Chancery.

While William Lyon Mackenzie could not be termed an orator, yet his fiery temperament and combative spirit, which led him to give vent to torrents of words, arrested the attention of the members and compelled them to listen to his outbursts of indignation



Hon. Alexander Mackenzie.



against what he considered existing evils. His pyramid of scrap books, fully indexed and replete with choice political material, was the fountain of political knowledge from which he drew many a troublesome quotation and unpleasant reminder. The desk occupied by Mr. Mackenzie is now in the possession of the York Rangers—an old-fashioned and well-worn piece of furniture, as badly scarred and marked with ink spots as a schoolboy's desk. His seat in the House was under the reporters' gallery, near the Front-street entrance. A familiar sight—one that would be somewhat unusual now—was the presence of his little grandson, clad in Scotch tartans, who used to sit near his grandfather and watch the proceedings with childish interest. An amusing illustration of Mackenzie's methods is afforded by his speech as to the choice of a site for the new national centre. Dipping his finger into an ink bottle he rapidly marked on a sheet of paper five unsightly daubs, showing the relative positions of Montreal, Ottawa, Kingston, Toronto and Hamilton, with a view to proving that Toronto was the natural site for the Dominion Parliament.

The Hon. William Henry Draper was a member of the Legislative Council in 1837, Solicitor-General in 1838, and afterward Attorney-General, and finally Chief Justice. He had a most persuasive eloquence, which won for him the soubriquet of "Sweet William." Though possessed of the advantage of a University education in England, he lacked the oratorical force and striking presence of Hagerman and Bidwell.

Marshall Spring Bidwell was also an attractive speaker, differing from his fellow-members, however, by reason of a pronounced nasal twang such as may be heard in some parts of New England.

Attorney-General Hagerman, who led the Government in 1832, was one of the most effective orators on the floor of the House, as he was one of the most brilliant members of the Bar, in fact, Hagerman, Bidwell and Baldwin were the three great lawyers of their day. Perhaps the greatest speech ever delivered by Mr. Hagerman was the one on the clergy reserve question in answer to Dr. Rolph. The former has been described to me as

the counterpart of Daniel O'Connell in personal appearance, as well as in his oratorical ability.

The Hon. Malcolm Cameron is another political memory. Upon his entrance to the Assembly in 1836 he ran a tilt against Sir Francis Bond Head in the latter's treatment of the petitions of the people for redress from political grievances, and in that and other ways proved himself to be an advanced radical, especially on the question of the separation of Church and State. He, too, filled acceptably different portfolios under different administrations.

The late Canadian Premier, Sir John A. Macdonald, spent some of his earlier years of public life within the walls of the old building. "On first entering the Legislature," writes one who remembers him in the 'forties, "he sat unmoved at his desk while the frays for which that period of parliamentary history was remarkable went on, looking half careless and half contemptuous. Sometimes in the thick of the melee, he was busy in and out of the Library. I scarce ever remember seeing him about the House when he was not searching up some case." With a daring that won him praise, he entered the lists against such old parliamentary hands as Robert Baldwin and others, and thus gained the practice in debate and contests which stood him in such good stead during his long reign at Ottawa after Confederation.

The ten years between 1850-60 witnessed the entrance into Parliament of a number of men whose names are familiar. The Hon. David Christie was one—a member of the "Clear Grit" party, and a clear-headed, cultivated and consistent Scotchman, with a high character and a calm judgment that gave weight to his utterances in the House. The Hon. Archibald McKellar, who was elected from Kent in 1857, strongly supported municipal institutions and drafted the original drainage law.

The sessions of 1851 witnessed the appearance of another man in the Legislature, who, while he had already won a high position as a leader outside of Parliament, was destined to become a power in Legislature and Parliament. Eight years after George Brown's arrival in Canada, he was elected in 1851 to represent Kent and Lambton, his maiden speech fully illustrating his cap-

acity as a parliamentary orator and leader. The fact that Mr. Brown's earlier advocacy on the platform and in the press of the reforms then being agitated had made him a popular speaker, also had the effect of making him a force and power in the House—a power that only increased and widened during his parliamentary life.

Thomas D'Arcy McGee was another bright star in the old parliamentary firmament. When he rose to speak everyone listened warmed by his supreme eloquence. Possessing a wide range of knowledge and having at his command art, science, poetry and history, he clothed his subject with a new and original interest, using the choicest language enlivened with a delightful vein of wit and humor. In addition, he was an adroit master of satire, and was equipped with a caustic and bitter irony. He delivered his maiden parliamentary speech in the session of 1858, displaying a wonderful coolness and an easy eloquence that carried the House with him.

Sir Francis Hincks was first elected in March 1841, and his talents soon brought him to the front. His first Cabinet position was that of Inspector-General, succeeding which he became Prime Minister of the Hincks-Dorion administration after the retirement of Mr. Baldwin, a position which he held until 1854. In 1869 he entered Sir John A. Macdonald's Ministry as Financial Minister, and left public life in 1873, after thirty-two years of service.

The first Premier of Ontario under Confederation, the late Hon. John Sandfield Macdonald, also had a comparatively long parliamentary career, lasting from 1841 till 1871,—thirty years of intense political activity. He occupied a private member's seat until 1849, when he was appointed Solicitor-General in the Baldwin-Lafontaine Cabinet, and in 1858 he was Attorney-General in the Brown-Dorion Cabinet. He persistently opposed the representation by population agitation, and although a Catholic, did not favor the establishment of separate schools. In 1862 he was called upon to form a government, and, after Confederation was completed, he formed the first Ontario Cabinet. In 1872 he retired from public life, soon after the defeat of his administration, and passed away the following year.

It was not until 1867 that Edward Blake entered Parliament, being elected for the House of Commons in West Durham and for the Local Legislature in South Bruce. In 1869 he succeeded Mr. Archibald McKellar as leader of the Opposition in the Local Legislature, where he soon gained a reputation in keeping with that won at the bar. The student of character could easily see in the tall, erect, eloquent and dignified member a born political leader. After the election of 1871, he took a leading part in the long and exciting debate as to the disposition of the Railway Aid Fund, as a result of which the control of the House passed into the hands of the Opposition. The Government capitulated on the 20th of December, and Mr. Blake became Premier. On the re-assembling of the Legislature after the adjournment, the new Premier carried several important measures, chief of which was the abolition of dual representation. In October of 1872, he resigned his position as Premier, under this bill, and with the Hon. Alexander Mackenzie, took his seat in the House of Commons.

It is but a natural association to mention the name of the late Hon. Alexander Mackenzie in connection with that of Mr. Blake, as one of the men who played an important part in the Local Legislature, which he entered after the election of 1871. When the House met in December, he did much to bring about the overthrow of the Sandfield Macdonald ministry, and, as a matter of course, he was offered a position in the new Cabinet which Mr. Blake formed. He delivered an unusually valuable budget speech in 1872, and in October of that year followed his leader's example and withdrew from Toronto for the larger field at Ottawa.

The Hon. Stephen Richards was elected to the Legislature in 1867, and was a member of the Sandfield Macdonald Government, the Hon. John Carling being Minister of Agriculture and Public Works.

Another important name is that of Sir Oliver Mowat, who, like so many of his political associates, entered Parliament after having won his spurs in the legal profession. In 1857 he was elected to represent South Ontario (defeating the late Mr. Justice Morrison), in time to play an important part in the work of laying the foun-

dations of Confederation, taking a prominent part in the Quebec Confederation Conference. He was Provincial Secretary of the Brown-Dorion Cabinet during its short existence, and was also Postmaster-General in the Sandfield Macdonald-Dorion administration of 1863, while he held a portfolio in the Taché-Macdonald Government for a short time. The encomium passed upon him years ago may well be applied to-day: "Clear and logical in his thinking, ready in debate, well informed and industrious, polite and agreeable in deportment, he was liked by friends, feared by opponents, and respected by all." He was appointed Vice-Chancellor of the Court of Chancery in 1864. Re-entering Parliament in 1872, he has since filled the high position of Premier for twenty-one years—a record only approached by the first Pitt ministry, which remained in power from December 1783 to 1801. Thus has the longest record in the annals of British Parliamentary Government been distanced by a Canadian statesman and premier.

A paragraph should in justice be devoted to the memory of Alfred Patrick, who was honored with a commandership in the Order of St. Michael and St. George, in recognition of a long life of usefulness as a parliamentary official. From 1827 to 1841 he was an official of the Upper Canadian Parliament; clerk of committees in the new Legislative Assembly of the province from 1841 to 1867; first clerk assistant in the Dominion House of Commons from 1867 to 1873, and Clerk of the House of Commons from 1873 to 1881, when he was superannuated, thus having seen fifty-four years of official life, commencing some years before the erection of the old Parliament buildings on Front-street, and indeed having seen service in the previous buildings that were burned in 1824. During the rebellion of 1837-8, he was guard of the Legislative Records. As may well be imagined, he became an authority on constitutional law, and was the author of a work on "Canadian Controverted Election Precedents, 1828-41." Not only did he see two generations of provincial legislators come and go, but he was, perhaps, the only one who was present at the first and last sessions of the Legislative Assembly in the old Parliament buildings. He died suddenly at

Niagara-on-the-Lake, on July 18th, 1892, at the advanced age of eighty-one.

The following is a list of the Speakers of the Assembly and Parliament from 1792 to 1892.

From 1792 to 1841:

1792—John Macdonell
1798—D. W. Smith.
1800—Samuel Street.
1801—D. W. Smith.
1805—Alex. McDonell.
1812—Samuel Street.
1817—Allan McLean.
1821—L. P. Sherwood.

1825—John Wilson.
1829—Marshall Spring Bidwell.
1831—Arch. McLean,
1836—Marshall Spring Bidwell.
1836—Arch. McLean.
1837—Henry Ruttan.
1837-8—Sir Allan MacNab.

The Speakers during the Union were:

1841—Austin Cuvillier.
1844—Sir Allan N. MacNab.
1848—Augustin N. Morin.
1851—John Sandfield Macdonald.

1854—Louis Victor Sicotte.
1858—Henry Smith.
1862—J. E. Turcotte.

The Speakers since Confederation have been:

1867—J. Stevenson.
1871—R. W. Scott.
1871—J. G. Currie.
1874—R. M. Wells.

1880—Charles Clarke.
1884—Charles Clarke.
1887—Jacob Baxter.
1891—Thomas Ballantyne.

A tabulated list of the provincial members of the Assembly and Parliament, from 1792 to 1892, will be found as an appendix.



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Hon. Thomas Ballantyne, Speaker of the Legislative Assembly of Ontario, 1893.



SCARBORO MECHANICS
INSTITUTE.

CHAPTER XI.

A NEW ERA AND A NEW BUILDING.

THE hundred years of Ontario's history is naturally divisible into distinct eras or periods, the first being the initial parliament held at Newark, from 1792 to 1796; the second, connected with York's earliest parliament building, from 1796 to 1813; the third, surrounding and centreing in the second parliament building, from 1814 to 1832; the fourth, contained in the Front-street building, from 1832 to 1841, and the fifth, dealing with the union of the two provinces, between 1841 and 1867. The sixth and present era was inaugurated when Confederation became an accomplished fact in 1867, and Provincial Legislatures were again organized. The first Cabinet after Confederation was led by the Hon. John Sandfield Macdonald as Premier and Attorney-General, with the Hon. John Carling as Minister of Agriculture and Public Works, the Hon. Stephen Richards as Commissioner of Crown Lands, the Hon. M. C. Cameron as Provincial Secretary and the Hon. E. B. Wood as Provincial Treasurer. After an existence of nearly four years and a half, the first general election for the province under the new order brought about the defeat of the Sandfield Macdonald Government and the accession to office, on the 20th December, 1871, of the Hon. Edward Blake, with the Hon. Alexander Mackenzie, the Hon. Adam Crooks and the Hon. Archibald McKellar as colleagues. The table given elsewhere includes the names of all who have held portfolios in the Ontario Government since 1867, with the length of their term of office.

On the 31st of October, 1872, upon the retirement of Messrs. Blake and Mackenzie from the provincial arena of public life to

the larger field of the Dominion Parliament at Ottawa, what has long been known as the Mowat Government was formed, which has held continuous power therefore for over twenty years and which has lived through five general elections. Such a long term of administration of one government is, as has been said, rare in the history of governments.

Though brief reference has already been made to Sir Oliver Mowat, the words of a recent writer may well be added: "It has been his fortune to become peculiarly and distinctively identified with the Province of Ontario. His name is indeed familiar enough to the people of the most distant provinces, and to Ontarians it is a source of much pride to reflect that familiarity has in his case bred universal respect and admiration; yet it is in this province that his great work has lain, and it is by the people of this province that he has been honored to a degree without parallel in the history of democratic communities. Charged first with the affairs of Ontario at a period when the institutions planted at Confederation remained in a condition of unripeness, it became his lot to carefully tend, nurture and develop them until they have reached a stage when, glancing around the world, we are able nowhere to find a people in the enjoyment of a system of laws equally sound, useful and progressive with those with which our statute books are filled. Though he had no part in the final arrangements of that confederative system of government in the ultimate success of which his long administration in Ontario has been so prominent a factor, Sir Oliver Mowat was actively concerned in the preliminary movements and was sufficiently identified with the great project to be included in Mr. Harris' celebrated picture, 'The Fathers of Confederation.'"

Sir Oliver has always chosen able colleagues who have rendered him most valuable assistance in governing the province. Among the present members are the Hon. C. F. Fraser, who has held office for nearly twenty years; the Hon. Arthur S. Hardy, who has been a member of the Cabinet for over fifteen years; the Hon. George W. Ross, whose ten years as Minister of Education will soon be completed; the Hon. J. M. Gibson, sworn in in 1889; and the Hon. John Dryden, the Hon. R. Harcourt and the Hon.

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New Parliament Building, North -w of Exterior.

E. H. Bronson (without portfolio) in 1890. The Hon. T. B. Pardee and the Hon. Adam Crooks have passed away, and the Hons. S. C. Wood, A. McKellar, James Young, A. M. Ross and Charles Drury are ex-members.

It is not the purpose of the writer to attempt a sketch of this modern era of our legislative record, though the statute books reveal a mass of legislation which has placed Ontario in the front rank of any province, country or state for advanced laws on all the lines that come within the purview of a provincial legislature.

What has been above penned is intended as preliminary to a brief sketch of the history and inception of the new Parliament Buildings recently erected, the opening of which marks not only an important epoch in this latter era, but the closing of the first century of our provincial history and the auspicious opening of the second.

The question of new parliament buildings was mooted in 1877, and in 1880 the Commissioner of Public Works, the Hon. C. F. Fraser, obtained from the legislature an initial grant of \$500,000 towards their erection. Competitive plans on the basis of this \$500,000 were invited, but it was found that suitable buildings, with the requisite accommodation, could not be had for that amount. Nothing more was done until a sum of \$250,000 additional was voted in 1885. In 1886 the preparation of plans and specifications for the proposed new buildings was entrusted to Mr. R. A. Waite, of Buffalo, and in 1887 a further sum of \$300,000 was voted for the erection of the buildings on Mr. Waite's plans. Subsequently there was added to the sums above mentioned a final grant of \$200,000, which brought up the total amount voted for the construction of the buildings to \$1,250,000. The contract for the excavating and masonry and bricklayer's work was given to Lionel Yorke in October of 1886. The work of excavation was at once commenced, and in 1892 the building was practically completed, only six years being taken in its erection, at a total cost of less than \$1,300,000. The sale of the site occupied by the old building will, it is expected, realize half a million dollars, which, applied to the cost of the new structure, will reduce it to about \$750,000.

The lapse of only six years between the first excavation and the completion of the new building is creditable to the Commissioner of Public Works and the contractors. Considering the magnitude of the building, covering as it does four acres of ground, and containing over two hundred rooms, six years is an exceptionally short period in which to erect it.

No better situation could have been chosen for a public building than the southern end of the Queen's Park. It partially covers the site of the old King's College, which was built just fifty years ago, and which was removed a few years ago to make room for the Parliament building. On the occasion of the opening of King's College by Sir Charles Bagot, the Governor-General, the 43rd Regiment assisted in the ceremony, while all the notables of that day, including Doctor McCaul, the first president of the college, were in attendance. The ceremony of the 4th of April last, half a century later, was in some respects like the former in the presence of the Lieutenant-Governor, detachments of the military, and representative men in many of the departments of life.

The peculiar effectiveness of the situation of the building is best seen from the outlook in the eastern tower. To the south, the University avenue stretches to Queen-street, with the heart of the city on either side extending to the bay, while the Island and blue waters of the lake beyond complete a picture of rare beauty. To the east, the Scarboro' heights border the horizon and enclose the vast area of the city extending in that direction. To the west, the Humber bay and the High Park tree-tops form a boundary as Wells' hill and Upper Canada College do to the north. In the immediate neighborhood the eye takes in a noble group of public buildings—the University, with its annexes of library, gymnasium, Biological building, and School of Practical Science; the sister educational centres of Victoria and McMaster Universities, and Wycliffe College, the Athletic Club, and the circle of handsome private residences around the Queen's park, with its groups of massive oaks and elms, its sward, its walks and drives, its spacious pavilion, its groups of statuary, and its twin Sebastopol cannon guarding the southern entrance to the

park. Near the north-west corner of the building the bronze figure of George Brown faces the structure, and adjoining his monument is the group of statuary erected in honor of the volunteers who fell at Ridgeway in 1866.

The more one studies the front exterior view of the new building the more impressive does it seem, and the more does the on-looker realize that he is gazing upon a noble structure, fully worthy of the province in whose interest it has been built. The principal frontage is 490 feet, including the porte cocheres, with a depth of 294 feet, the main plan forming a double letter E, and enclosing within its walls over 76,000 square feet. In architectural design, it is Romanesque, the carved surfaces following the Celtic and Indo-Germanic schools. The main walls are constructed of Credit Valley sandstone taken from the quarries of Carrol & Vick, its reddish brown tinge producing a most pleasing effect of color. Some of the larger surfaces present their natural face, and harmonize with the chiselled and moulded surfaces, the result being an infinite variety.

The centre façade measures 120 x 125 feet and rises to a height of nearly 200 feet. The massive window arcading which lights the legislative chamber on the south, thus centralizing and externalizing the legislative chamber, is a feature heretofore overlooked in the designing of buildings of this dignified character in all countries, and in this instance is accomplished in a most scholarly way. It is designed so as appropriately to be the ruling feature of the entire composition, both in plan and elevation, and so disposed as entirely to separate the apartments for legislative purposes in the west wing from the departmental apartments in the east wing, and there is withal a simplicity in arrangement, yet noble and impressive. The boldly-treated walls, with series of radiating arches, sturdy clustered columns, accentuated angle turrets, and quiet fields of quarry-faced walls, are judiciously enriched here and there with carvings, and the whole crowned by a pyramidal roof, with angle turrets, terminating with elongated domical roofs.

Among the most striking exterior features of the buildings are the porte cocheres at the eastern and western ends, the mas-

siveness of which is seen in the illustrations given, and the details of which illustrate the wealth of carving executed. Indeed, the stone carving, taken in its entirety, is perhaps to be classed among the chief features of the building. The largest specimen of carving is the sculptured frieze, nearly 70 feet long, and 15 feet high, surmounting the three great windows in the centre structure, which represents in heroic size allegorical figures of music, agriculture, commerce, art, science, law, philosophy, architecture, engineering and literature grouped on either side of the arms of the province. On the east and west sides of the main entrance excellent likenesses are carved in stone of Governor Simcoe, Chief Justice Robinson, John Sandfield Macdonald, William Hume Blake, Timothy Blair Pardee, Sir Isaac Brock, Robert Baldwin and Matthew Crooks Cameron. These are guarded, as it were, by four monster gargoyles, which look down from the corners of the four great towers.

The main entrance is in keeping with the dignity and general effect of the front exterior. It is composed of three noble arches eighteen feet wide by twenty-six feet high, and is reached by a succession of steps and platforms. This entrance is flanked by the great towers with their domes of copper and their wealth of stone design. The western tower will have a massive clock, which will be seen from the south and west, while the eastern tower has a balconied outlook, the view from which is, as has been described, one of the finest in the city, taking in a great portion of the city with the island and lake beyond; indeed, Brock's monument on the banks of the Niagara is discernible on a clear day.

In many respects the exterior facing the north, or the rear view, is equally as imposing as the front or southern aspect, taking in the larger area of the Park, and Avenue Road beyond.

The contract for the masonry, brick, stone and excavations was originally undertaken by the late Lionel Yorke. Upon his death the work was taken up by his surety, Mr. Robert Carrol, who associated with him Mr. J. B. Vick, who was with Mr. Yorke. To insure its early completion they found it necessary to purchase 400 acres of brown stone quarries, near Orangeville, which

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Hon. C. F. Fraser, Commissioner of Public Works.

required developing in a more expeditious manner than heretofore. To this end they adopted the mining system, for which purpose they brought out English miners, which proved a good success, as the completed buildings now show.

The entire roof is covered with deep blue slate, taken from quarries in Rutland, Vermont. The domes of the two central towers are, however, covered with copper. Forty-six tons of copper have been used throughout the building.

Passing through the massive entrance, the general effect is maintained by a view of the wide and high corridor with its rows of iron pillars and the grand staircase at the end.

Here one is forcibly struck with the contrast between the dingy, dusty and deserted old structure on Front-street. The change is indeed a marked one. It is a transition from gloomy corridors, dimly-lighted offices, dust-begrimed desks, flickering yellow gas jets, and old-time grates, to spacious quarters, with high ceilings, handsome paneling, massive corridors, beautiful electric appliances, and perfect heating and ventilation.

From this grand entrance corridor, which connects with the admirably planned arcaded and upper-galleried corridors of the east and west wings, one ascends directly to the Assembly Chamber by the grand staircase, with a centre flight exceeding twenty-three feet between the balustrades, and with intermediate platforms leading to a grand platform fifteen feet wide, and in breadth fifty feet from the same two side flights, each twelve feet wide, also broken by intermediate platforms. This beautiful staircase is consonant in feeling with its surroundings, constructed of enriched cast-iron strings, risers and buttresses, wrought-iron rails forged in most artistic forms, with threads of very dark red slate, and platforms of tessellated red tile pavements. The ornamental ironwork and carving of hammered steel is also very fine. Two enormous windows, thirty-two feet high and nine feet wide, face the first landing. In addition to the grand staircase, located in the east and west wings respectively, are three public and two private stairways, which give access to each of the stories.

This will lead us to the Legislative Chamber—the crowning

glory of the interior—a truly noble hall, with a floor area 65 x 80 feet, and a height of over 50 feet. The paneled ceiling is a mass of color, amongst the designs the maple leaf predominating. The color scheme of the ceiling is in cool green and rich tones of purple, maple leaves of autumnal tints being wrought into scroll ornaments which form the ceiling design. These tones, with the warm, strong color of the heavy wood beams, form a strong and effective combination. The coat of arms of the province, in heraldic coloring, is prominent, the framing or outline of which is a beautiful celtic scroll entwined with maple branch and leaves. The novelty of the whole is most happily adapted to the deep wood-beam paneling, the lines breaking through it at all points, yet so conceived as to show a careful following of each paneling, thus avoiding the heavy and monotonous effect of simply decorated panels.

Above the arches on the northern and southern walls are four allegorical subjects—Moderation, holding a curbed bridle; Justice, with sword and scales, and a cherub holding a code of laws; Power, carrying a sword and oak branch, and Wisdom, with open book and lamp of knowledge. On the east and west walls notable dates in the history of Ontario are inscribed, such as “1792” and “1892.” The handsome woodwork is paneled and moulded of Canadian sycamore, with mahogany paneling nine feet high. The plastered walls are richly decorated with mouldings and artistic ornament in low relief of a rich yellow brown, studded with maple leaf outlined in gold and beautifully-modelled enrichment treated in warm tones, wiped with transparent color, resembling antique marble. Perhaps the most effective portion of the decoration is to be found in the eight-feet cove, which is filled with a beautifully drawn Romanesque ornament broken at intervals by medallions in deep tones of purple. The side galleries are colored in quiet, warm tones as a foil to the richer effects of the chamber proper, and the distinctively Canadian symbols are wrought into the design in an artistic, unobtrusive manner, in pleasing contrast to the usual baldness of such introductions.

In the centre of the lofty ceiling there is a ventilating iron grill, 10 feet in diameter. This connects with a galvanized iron

pipe leading to a brick stack, containing a fan driven by an engine in the basement. By means of this all the foul air is carried outside, and fresh air constantly distributed throughout the whole of the building.

The Speaker's dais, executed in San Domingo and "velvet cowl" mahogany, has richly-carved "coat of arms" shields with dates 1792, 1867, 1892, and enriched surfaces surmounted by two standard lions. It is placed at the south end, with the press gallery, treated more as a balcony, immediately behind and forming, as it were, a part thereof. The Speaker's gallery, treated in uniformity, runs across the opposite or north end, and on either side are located the ladies' and visitors' galleries. The latter are greatly increased in beauty by the massive arcades fronting them, and they are admirably successful as to sight lines, as every member on the floor of the chamber can be seen therefrom no matter from what point he may rise to address the throne.

The chamber is lighted chiefly by four immense and highly ornamented chandeliers, containing a combination of gas and electric light. This piece of work was specially designed for the purpose. In each of the chandeliers there are 24 gas and electric lights. The latter are of 32 candle power. Arranged around the walls of the chamber are 22 brackets, 18 of which have five lights each and the remainder four. The chandeliers and brackets are manufactured of what is known as polished bronze, hand-cut and hand-chased.

The allotment of rooms on the ground floor of the western wing is in connection with legislation, the assistant clerk of the House, as well as the law clerk, having their offices on this floor. Seven of the rooms will be for the use of house committees, some of them being 40x20 in size. The Queen's printer has three rooms, and the postmaster two, on the north side of the main corridor of the ground floor. The Lieutenant-Governor has a handsomely furnished room adjoining the Library, while the leader of the Opposition has had a room at the western tower, placed at his disposal, the Speaker utilizing the corresponding room in the eastern tower. These apartments are paneled in natural woods.

Each of the departments is arranged *en suite*, and located in

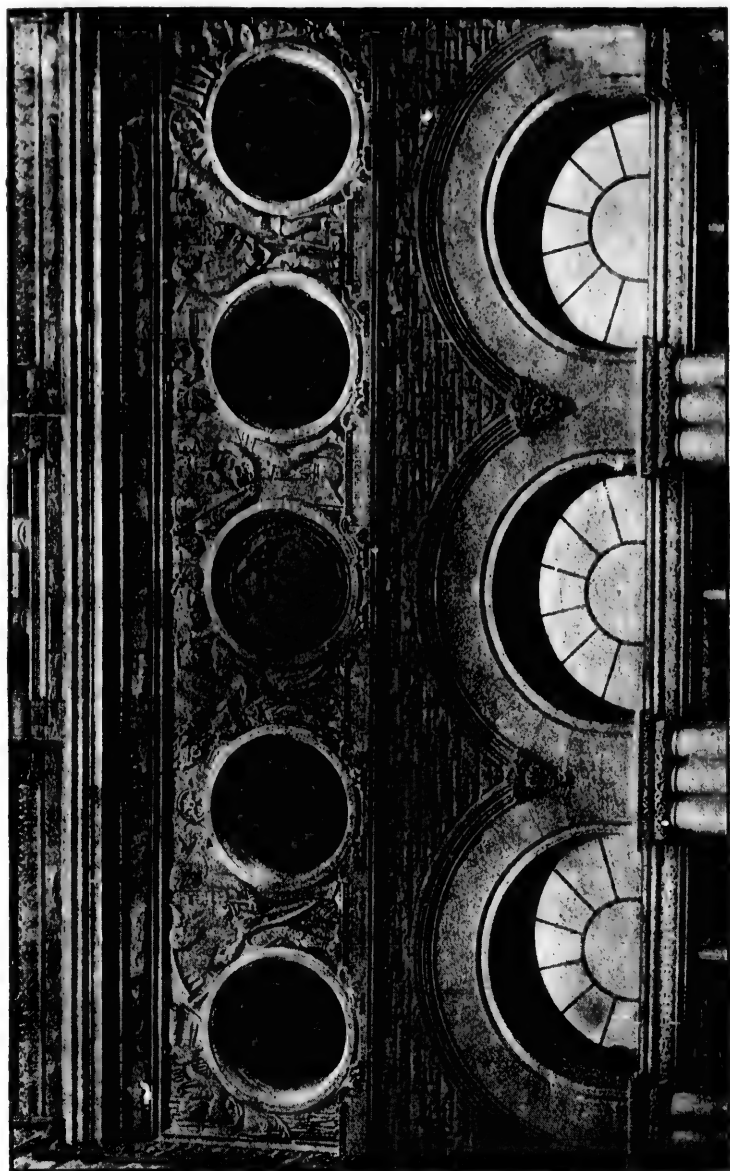
the east wing; that of the Crown Lands is on the ground floor, comprising 21 separate rooms, with four very large vaults, and the commodious apartments of the Hon. A. S. Hardy, the Crown Lands Commissioner. On this floor also are the apartments of the Hon. John Dryden and his Department of Agriculture, comprising seven rooms. On the floor above is the Attorney-General's Department, comprising nine separate rooms, with one very large vault, this suite of apartments including the sumptuous Council Chamber entered from the main corridor, as well as judiciously connected with the apartments for Sir Oliver Mowat. Here are also the Department of the Provincial Secretary, the Hon. J. M. Gibson, comprising 14 offices, and two large vaults, and the Departments of Insurance, Prisons and Inspector of Division Courts. The floor above accommodates the Public Works Department, where the Hon. C. F. Fraser and his staff are located, occupying 13 rooms, and using one large vault. Also on this floor are the Provincial Treasurer's Department, the Hon. Richard Harcourt, comprising 10 apartments, with one large vault; while the License Department, the Department of the Administration of Justice and the offices of the Registrar-General occupy the remainder of the apartments and one large vault.

The architect has also made ample provision for the comfort and convenience of the members. Their reception room on the mezzanine floor is a large apartment, 30x40, with a twenty foot ceiling. Their dining-room on the same floor is 24x40. The hat and cloak room is 30x36, and is situated west of the main staircase on the same floor. It is paneled and finished with ninety-two compartments finished in walnut, each compartment containing hat and cloak hooks and locked drawers.

The smoking-room is another spacious room, 36x40, with ceiling twenty-four feet high, and a capacious fireplace and special ventilating flues. They further have a reading-room, 50x24, finished in white oak and fitted with sloping reading stands. Adjoining this apartment are two retiring rooms for the special use of the members.

The Speaker has been apportioned excellent and commodious quarters in the north-western section of the building, consisting

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Sculptured Frieze, New Parliament Building.

of reception room, library and dining-room, *en suite*. The private entrance to this portion of the building shows some unique and artistic carving, especially on the pillars. The reception room is a most elegant apartment 24x30 in size, with a floor covered with gum-wood. The carving in this room and the Speaker's library is especially fine. The Speaker's dining-room, 18x24, is finished in cherry.

The Legislative library, one of the handsomest and largest rooms in the whole building, is situated on the mezzanine floor. Its dimensions are 70x42 feet, with a ceiling 35 feet high. It is fitted up with white oak paneling and shelving. An abundance of light has been secured by no less than eight large windows on three sides of the apartment. The shelving is known as the Standard book-stack system, used in the best American libraries. A neat gallery runs around three sides of the room, with shelving two stories high, thus doubling its capacity and enabling the library to accommodate 40,000 volumes. A radical improvement on the old library is an iron railing enclosing the shelving, thus preventing the public from helping themselves to the books. The librarian's office adjoins the library proper.

One can easily be lost in the intricacies of the basement. Running through part of its length is a massive cold air tube, the air being heated by steam radiators, afterwards passing into the chamber and library. The massiveness of the foundation walls give one a striking idea of the substantiality of the structure. The boiler room is reached from the basement and contains six immense boilers, each sixteen feet in length, sixty-six inches in diameter, and with 100 three-inch steel tubes.

The building is equipped with thirteen large fire-proof vaults, fitted with iron frames and tin filing cases, thus ensuring almost absolute safety from fire, indeed not until now have the public documents of the province been free from this danger. Ample fire protection has been provided—a six inch water main running through from street to street, and three hydrants are placed in the basement and on each floor. Six capacious lavatories, finished in cherry, are to be found in the building. The floors of these lavatories are built on iron beams filled in by brick arches and

covered with concrete and Portland cement. Four large electric elevators of the very latest design are in service, the protecting gates of which are of fine ornamental iron work.

The floors are all double, two thicknesses of asbestos, acting as a deafener and protection from fire, being placed between each floor. The main corridors are both lofty, light and wide, and are finished throughout in white oak, with a profusion of carving. They are roofed over with amber-colored glass, which sheds a subdued and restful light below. The electric light is, of course, principally used, but the chandeliers are for gas and electricity combined.

The original contractor for the excavation, masonry, and brick and stone work was the late Lionel Yorke, whose contract called for \$671,250. Upon his sudden death, his sureties took up the work and carried it through to a satisfactory completion without a day's loss in the actual work. The list of contractors and prices for the erection and construction of the building is as follows:

Masonry, brick, stone and excavation (originally awarded to Lionel Yorke, and upon his death taken up by Carroll & Vick).....	\$671,250
And in addition 13,500,000 of bricks to be furnished from the Central Prison.*	
Interior woodwork and Speaker's dais (Wagner, Zeidler & Co., Toronto).....	120,800
Carpenter work (Lionel Yorke).....	95,343
Plumbing, gas fitting and steam heating (Purdy, Mansell & Mashinter, Toronto).....	76,800
Iron work, etc. (St. Lawrence Foundry Co., Toronto)...	54,000
Roof-covering, slating, copper work, etc. (Douglas Bros.)	44,497
Lathing and plastering (A. H. Rundle, Toronto).....	37,770
Interior painting and glazing (R. J. Hovenden, Toronto)	23,325

* By the terms of the original contract for excavating, concreting, masonry, brickwork, etc., approved of by the Provincial Legislature, the contractor was to receive (1) \$671,250, and (2) thirteen and one-half million of brick from the Central Prison. If less than this amount of brick was supplied from the Central Prison he was to be paid at the rate of six dollars per thousand for the difference between the quantity supplied and the said thirteen and one-half millions. The actual quantity of brick supplied from the Central Prison to the contractors was only 10,454,450.

Grand staircase, etc. (H. C. Harrower, Buffalo).....	\$21,991
Outer drainage (Garson & Purcer, St. Catharines).....	5,490
Decoration of ceiling and walls in chamber (Elliott & Son)	4,500
Mantels, furnishings, fittings, etc. (Rice Lewis & Son, Lt'd.)	3,322
Seating for galleries in chamber (The Chas. Rogers & Sons Co., Lt'd., Toronto)	3,250
Tiling for vestibules and lobbies, etc. (Toronto Granite Co.)	1,450

Among the contracts for equipment and furnishing of buildings were :

Combination gas and electric fixtures (Bennett & Wright)	25,206
Four elevators (Otis Bros., New York).....	22,000
Fitting up ten vaults (Office Specialty Mnf. Co.).....	11,770
Library fittings, etc. (William Simpson, Toronto).....	5,199

The formal opening of the new building and of the Legislature took place on the fourth of April, when the floor of the Chamber and the quartette of galleries were crowded with representative citizens. Punctually at three o'clock, Lieutenant-Governor Kirkpatrick and suite arrived at the main entrance from Government House, accompanied by a detachment of the Governor-General's Body Guard, while Company "2" of the Royal School of Infantry, with their band, formed a guard of honor near the entrance. Adjoining the building, the Toronto Field Battery was stationed, and a salute of guns was fired. A procession formed at the main hall, consisting of the Lieutenant-Governor and suite and the Premier, officers of the various artillery, cavalry and infantry corps of the city, judges of the courts, consuls, city officials and others, passing up the grand entrance to the Chamber.

The Lieutenant-Governor, on reaching the Throne, read the first Address to the members delivered in the new Chamber, and the first indeed since his appointment to office. One of the paragraph of the Address is given : "It gives me great pleasure to meet you as a Legislative Assembly for the first time since my appointment as Lieutenant-Governor ; and it is peculiarly gratifying that I am privileged to do so in these beautiful buildings, now so nearly completed, and so well adapted for your accom-

modation and the convenience of the public service. I regret that the condition of the work did not admit of my calling you together at an earlier day. It is to me a source of historical interest to remember that I am addressing the Legislative Assembly of this province in the first year of the second century of the existence of representative government in Canada. The progress of events from the first Parliament, opened by His Excellency, Governor Simcoe, at Niagara, in 1792, to the opening of this Parliament to-day, shows what great strides have been made towards the development of the country, and the enlargement of the privileges of citizenship under the Constitution given to us by the Imperial Parliament. As a native of Ontario, and for many years connected with the public life of Canada, I rejoice to believe that under our present relations with the Empire we can enjoy every right and privilege necessary to the fullest exercise of self-government."

With the reading of prayers by Speaker Ballantyne, and the transaction of a few matters of parliamentary business, the second century of Ontario's legislative life was inaugurated under the happiest conditions, and in a building that is worthy of a wealthy, advanced and progressive province.

Another interesting feature following the opening exercises, which warrants a reference, was the presentation to Sir Oliver Mowat of a life-size portrait of himself, executed by Mr. Robert Harris, of Montreal. In his felicitous reply, the Attorney-General took occasion to review his long official life, and, although of a personal nature, it merits a place in a work such as this.

Sir Oliver said in reply:—

"Mr. Christie and gentlemen,—I am very grateful for the warm feelings towards me which are shown by your address. I do not pretend to merit your encomiums, but I appreciate deeply the spirit which has inspired them. I understand that the portrait which you do me the honor of presenting is pronounced by connoisseurs to be a success both as a work of art and as a good likeness. As a likeness it tells me that I look considerably older than I feel, though not older than I am. I cannot conceal from myself that a man in his 73rd year is an old man, however little

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Grand Staircase, New Parliament Building.

he may feel his years, and many things to which my personal memory extends back compel me to realize that I have had already a long life. The recent sorrow which has come upon me has turned my thoughts involuntarily in that direction, and I have been calling to mind that I have now outlived nearly all my early contemporaries and early associates, and many of later date. I call to mind that in my own time and within my own memory a transformation has been accomplished in the political condition of the province, and in everything that goes to make up a great and a civilized community. I remember when neither our province, nor any other British province, had responsible government. I remember when the conduct of provincial affairs was not by the elected representatives of the population, nor by persons of their appointing, or having their confidence. I knew the province when it had no municipal institutions, now known to be essential to local interests and local progress. I knew the province when the various churches, amongst which its people were distributed, were not equal before the law; when the established church of old England was practically the established church here, and when there were claimed for it the exclusive rights and privileges of an establishment, and one-seventh of the whole land of the country. I remember the province when there was in it not one university, not one college, and no system of public schools. I remember when at every election there was but one polling place for a whole county, no matter how extensive; when the election lasted for a week, and when (except in towns) the only voters were freeholders. I remember when the province had not a mile of railway, nor I believe a mile of macadamized road. I remember when the principal cities of the present day were but villages—when this great city of Toronto was "Little York," and its population was three or four thousand. I remember when the whole province had—or was supposed to have—a population of but 150,000, and therefore less than the population now of Toronto alone. My memory thus goes back of the time when I began the practice of my profession here a half century ago. The city had then a population of but 15,000, and Upper Canada a population of but half a million. The changes which

have taken place in our province in that half century have been very great. Its progress in population, in wealth, in education, in intelligence, in political freedom, and in most other things which serve to make a country attractive and great, has in fact been enormous. * * *

"While this progress has been going on, what a disappearance there has been of the men I remember as in various ways helping it on. The politicians of my early days have all passed away, and very many of their successors have passed away too. So it has been with the clergy, the journalists, the bankers, the judges, the lawyers, and men of every other class, whom I remember as prominent in those days.

"It was as an alderman of this city that I began my public life some 36 years ago. I was an alderman for the years 1857 and 1858. Only two of my associates in the city council are living now. Most of the electors, of both parties, who were active in securing my election, have gone also.

"While still an alderman I was elected by the south riding of Ontario to a seat in the Legislative Assembly of the then province of Canada, and I remained a member until I accepted a vice-chancellorship in 1864. Of those who were my fellow-members of the Legislature, very few are now living. I know of but one of them who is a member of the present Parliament of Canada. Not one (except myself) is a member of the present Legislative Assembly of Ontario.

"So, of the first Ontario Cabinet under my premiership, not one is a member of the Cabinet now. Some honored and valued colleagues are dead, and others, honored and valued likewise, have, for reasons personal to themselves, gone into other avocations. Not one colleague was parted with through any political difference, or any personal estrangement. Of the members of the Ontario Assembly elected in 1867, only one is a member of the present House. Of those who were members in 1872, when I myself became a member, I believe three only (besides myself) are members now.

"It was with great hesitation that I left the Bench for the Legislature and Government, when I was invited by the then

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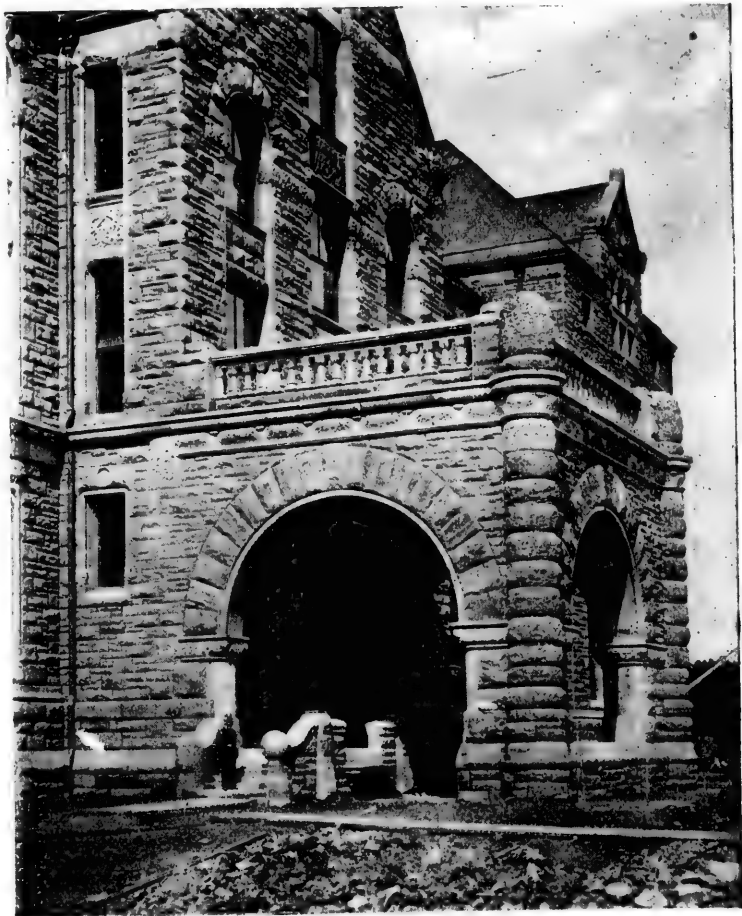
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Eastern Porte Cochere, New Parliament Building.

Lieutenant-Governor to take on me the position which I have since held. Judicial work was for me congenial work ; and it is work which, when well and conscientiously done, is of great importance and great value to the community. But I am glad now that I made the exchange, even though the new position has involved (as you observe) financial sacrifices. Money is not everything ; and the leadership of a Government which has the confidence of the people affords opportunity of rendering public service greater than the honorable position of a judge supplies. I must believe that the opportunity which I obtained of doing an increased amount of good has not been thrown away, or I would not so long have been sustained in office by the people of the province, nor would I be receiving to-day such an address as you have presented to me.

"I am glad to have retained my premiership long enough to see the erection and completion of the magnificent building in which we are assembled, and to take my place as premier of the province at the first session of the Legislature held here. The occasion is to me all the more interesting, as this day is the 19th anniversary of the day on which the eldest of my honored colleagues was sworn in as commissioner of public works. This building, erected under his care and supervision as such commissioner, will, as long as the building stands, be a monument of his administrative ability, his energy and his economy. I doubt if ever before any Government had erected a public building costing a million and a quarter of dollars without any extras worth the name.

"I am glad that you appreciate, as I do, the merits of all my colleagues in the Government. It gives me pleasure at all times to bear witness that to them and their predecessors in the administration the success of my long premiership has largely been due.

"In answering your address, I have put in words some of the memories which during the last few weeks have been coming to me with unaccustomed force. But they are not making me suppose that my life or its work is near its end. That I have no right to assume, and I do not assume. I have had a long past,

but I look forward to having a future, also; and it may be a long future, though not long as compared with my past. Whatever of life and capacity for public usefulness may by divine providence be continued to me, I hope to devote to the same public service, which has had already so many of the best years of my life. Having the great advantage of long experience in affairs, I may look for increasing usefulness as long as bodily health and mental vigor remain unimpaired; and in this way I may hope to realize in some moderate measure the good wishes and kind anticipations which you have been pleased to express in your too flattering address. I should like to be remembered as a politician who was faithful to public duty, who used the machinery of party for the public good, who did what in his place he could to help the helpless, to lighten the burden of the heavy-laden, to promote the comfort and well-being of the masses of the people, and to make the wheels of business activity and of industry run smoothly and safely, for the common advantage of all classes of the population. In all this I am sure that I have your sympathy, and shall, as hitherto, have your support."

As an appropriate conclusion of this chapter, the names of the various Cabinet Ministers since 1867 to the present are given.

CABINET MINISTERS FROM CONFEDERATION.

Cabinet formed 16th July, 1867.

Premier and Attorney General, Agriculture and Public Works, Crown Lands,	Hon. J. S. Macdonald, Q.C., 16th July, 1867, to 19th Dec., 1871. Hon. J. Carling, 16th July, 1867, to 19th Dec., 1871. Hon. S. Richards, Q.C., 16th July, 1867, to 25th July, 1871. Hon. M. C. Cameron, Q.C., 25th July, 1871, to 19th Dec., 1871.
Provincial Secretary,	Hon. M. C. Cameron, Q.C., 20th July, 1867, to 25th July, 1871. Hon. S. Richards, Q.C., 25th July, 1871, to 19th Dec., 1871.
Provincial Treasurer,	Hon. E. B. Wood, Q.C., 20th July, 1867, to 19th Dec., 1871.

Ministry resigned Dec. 19, 1871.

Cabinet formed 20th December, 1871.

Premier and President of Council,	Hon. Edward Blake, Q.C., 20th Dec., 1871, to 25th Oct., 1872.
Provincial Secretary,	Hon. A. Mackenzie, 20th Dec., 1871, to 21st Dec., 1871. Hon. Peter Gow, 21st Dec., 1871, to 25th Oct., 1872.
Provincial Treasurer,	Hon. A. Mackenzie, 21st Dec., 1871, to 25th Oct., 1872.
Attorney General,	Hon. Adam Crooks, Q.C., 20th Oct., 1871, to 25th Oct., 1872.
Agriculture and Public Works,	Hon. A. McKellar, 20th Oct., 1871, to 25th Oct., 1872.

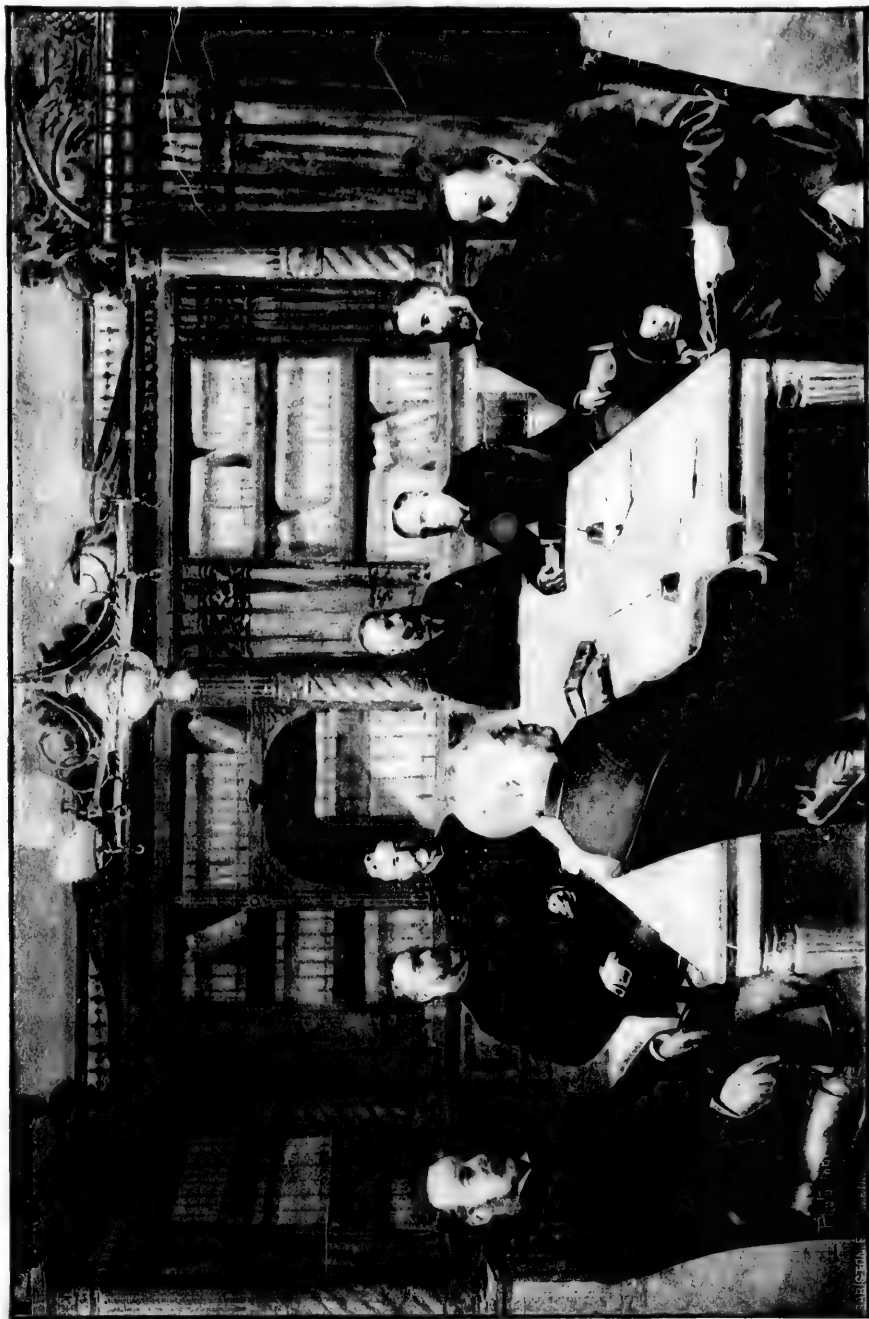
Ministry resigned Oct. 25, 1872.

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The Ontario Cabinet, 1893.

A New Era and a New Building.

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Cabinet formed October 31st, 1872, and Members since added

Premier and Attorney General, Provincial Secretary,	Hon. Sir O. Mowat, Q.C.,	31st Oct., 1872 to date.
	Hon. T. B. Purdee,	25th Oct., 1872, to 25th Nov., 1873.
	Hon. C. F. Fraser, Q.C.,	25th Nov., 1873, to 4th April, 1874.
	Hon. A. S. Hardy,	19th Mch., 1877, to 18th Jan., 1889.
	Hon. J. M. Gibson, Q.C.,	18th Jan., 1889 to date.
Agriculture and Prov. Sec'y.,	Hon. A. McKellar,	4th April, 1874, to 24th July, 1875.
	Hon. S. C. Wood,	March, 1877, to 2nd June, 1883.
Provincial Treasurer,	Hon. Adam Crooks, Q.C.,	25th Oct., 1872, to 24th Mch., 1877.
	Hon. S. C. Wood,	March, 1877, to 2nd June, 1883.
	Hon. R. Harcourt,	30th Sept, 1890 to date.
Prov. Treasurer and Agriculture,	Hon. James Young,	2nd June, 1883, to 1st Nov., 1883.
	Hon. A. M. Ross,	Nov., 1883, to 14th June, 1890.
Agriculture and Public Works, Agriculture,	Hon. A. McKellar, in previous cabinet,	to 4th April, 1874.
	Hon. Chas. Drury,	1st May, 1888, to 29th Sept., 1890.
	Hon. John Dryden,	30th Sept., 1890 to date.
Public Works, Crown Lands,	Hon. C. F. Fraser,	4th April, 1874 to date.
	Hon. R. W. Scott,	7th Nov., 1872, to 7th Nov., 1873.
	Hon. T. B. Pardee,	4th Dec., 1873, to Dec., 1888.
	Hon. A. S. Hardy, Q.C.,	18th Jan., 1889 to date.
Education,	Hon. Adam Crooks, Q.C.,	19th Feb., 1876, to 23rd Nov., 1883.
	Hon. G. W. Ross,	23rd Nov., 1883 to date.
Without Portfolio,	Hon. E. H. Bronson,	30th Sept., 1890 to date.

Present Cabinet.

Premier and Attorney General,	Hon. Sir Oliver Mowat, Q.C., K.C.M.G.
Commissioner of Crown Lands,	Hon. A. S. Hardy, Q.C.
Commissioner of Public Works,	Hon. C. F. Fraser, Q.C.
Provincial Secretary,	Hon. John M. Gibson, Q.C.
Provincial Treasurer,	Hon. Richard Harcourt, Q.C.
Minister of Education,	Hon. G. W. Ross.
Minister of Agriculture,	Hon. John Dryden.
Without Portfolio,	Hon. E. H. Bronson.





CHAPTER XII.

THEN AND NOW.

1792-1892.

THE close of the first century of Ontario's existence as a separate province is a fitting time for a review of its history and development, but volumes instead of pages would be required to fully record all that has transpired between the holding of the first Parliament on Niagara's banks, and the session of the Legislature now being held in its new home, or to adequately measure the effect of the legislation that has emanated from the Legislative Chambers of the four Parliament buildings referred to in this work. That is a task awaiting the historian. The most that need be attempted here is the institution of a few comparisons between the Then and the Now, as affording a gauge by which Ontario's progress and growth can be measured on a few lines, as regards legislation, methods of government, religious privileges, or lack of privileges, society, slavery, the treatment of the Indians, trade and commerce, the disposition of crown lands, and other topics. For this purpose, reference is confined chiefly to the first decade of our provincial history.

In the early days of Ontario's parliamentary life, the Indian question was an ever-present problem, and a frequent subject of state correspondence, in which Brant's name played a prominent part. Councils of Indians and conferences with representatives of the British and American Governments were often held, the main effort on the part of both being to hold the tribes to an allegiance to their respective countries. Simcoe's suggestion made in 1793 to make the present site of the city of London the capital

of the province was chiefly based upon the importance of having the seat of Government where it would to some extent divide the Indian tribes in Upper Canada, separating the Mohawks on the Grand River from their fellow red-men in the northern and western part of the province.

The British Government of that day was keenly alive to the question of the settlement of the boundaries between Canada and the United States being hastened, so as to prevent the Indians from coming into possession of any space between the two countries and thus jeopardizing the peace of both.

Simcoe recognised the difficulty of retaining the affections of the Indians, so as not to give pretext to the United States Government to begin hostilities against Canada. Commissioners from the United States held prolonged councils with the Indians at Newark, Buffalo Creek, Saginaw and other points, all with the intent, as has been said, of wooing them into an American alliance. In 1793, three great councils were held at Newark, in the presence of the Governor, the Indian Commissioners and the officers of the garrison, 50 chiefs having come *via* Fort Erie to attend it. The commissioners were given a belt of wampum, and the council adjourned to Sandusky in July of 1793, no less than 300 chiefs of the Seven Nations passing through Newark on their way to the Grand Council. Thus the game of diplomacy, if not of duplicity, on the part of some, was played until the war of 1812 divided both white and red into opposing ranks.

A keen competition was also carried on for years between the British and American Governments in the presentation of gifts to such of the Indians as were suspected of being open to influences of that character. The Americans showered presents upon them, and of the £60,000 given annually by the Imperial Government for the maintenance of the department of Indian affairs in Upper Canada, a certain proportion was set apart for the purchase of muskets, powder, knives, tomahawks, mirrors, and other articles dear to the heart of the Indian. Flags, with the arms of the province printed on them, were distributed with the object, no doubt, of inculcating loyalty. Silver medals were given away in considerable numbers, and the Mohawk church on the Grand

River reserve was presented with a communion service of solid silver, which is still in use. Simcoe was admonished to distribute the gifts "with economy and effect." It was also decided to bestow the King's bounty on the lucky recipients with every possible ceremony, and when the pomp of the soldiery of Newark or York was added to the picturesqueness of an Indian council, with feather-bedecked and scalp-adorned chiefs, the effect can easily be imagined as dramatic and impressive.

Brant's loyalty to Great Britain is regarded as a historical fact, but that there were fears the Americans would induce him to throw his influence on their side is evidenced by the bestowal upon his wife of a pension in case of Brant's death, after which Simcoe adds significantly: "This may secure his fidelity. He is not so respectful as he ought to be." He was charged from time to time with treasonable utterances which were, it is to be supposed, among "the improper liberties" of speech of which he was guilty. In fact, misunderstandings were the rule between Brant and the Upper Canadian authorities from the inception of the province. Brant's side of the question is ably set forth in a petition which he presented to the House of Assembly in 1806:

To the Honorable, the Commons House of Assembly, in Parliament Assembled, the petition of Captain Joseph Brant,

RESPECTFULLY SHEWETH, That in the year 1775, when the war between Great Britain and her colonies had commenced, the Mohawk nation, always faithful to the cause of the King, took a decided and active part, and leaving their families to the mercy of the enemy, brought off the Indian department through a hostile country into Canada, where their conduct was highly approved by Sir Guy Carleton, who, in a public council with the Indians, desired them to take up the hatchet and defend their rights: he then solemnly engaged that we should be amply remunerated for any losses we might sustain during the war. Some years after, when it was foreseen that the contest was likely to take an unfavorable turn, we stated our situation to the late Sir Frederick Haldimand, then Governor and Commander-in-Chief, and requested a confirmation of General Carleton's promise, by

which it was understood that the Indians who had lost their lands should receive an equivalent in this country, and at all events have them as fully confirmed as those they were possessed of before the war; and the grant which we afterwards obtained is now before your Honorable House. The lands thus granted, although from the quantity and situation by no means an equivalent for our losses, we cheerfully accepted in full confidence that they should be our own property, at least as much so as those we had sacrificed by joining the British Standard at the commencement of the war. After thus obtaining these lands, we, with the approbation of General Haldimand, settled some white families on the tract (many of whom had served with us) for the purpose of making roads and teaching our people the benefits of agriculture. I am sorry to say that our grievances commenced upon the establishment of the present Government of Upper Canada, by whom it was contemplated to curtail us of a great part of this tract. Considering ourselves under the protection of His Majesty, it becomes a duty we owe to ourselves and our posterity, candidly to state the difficulties we labor under. Divisions have been fomented amongst the Indians. That a small spot of ground of so little consequence to the British nation should become a matter of contention we cannot suppose to be their intention, but if unfortunately for us this should be the case, and if ever this small tract is considered as too large for the former services and losses of the Indians, in God's name let them confirm the one-half. We are aware that all representations of this nature should come through the Indian department, but as they have long since ceased from paying attention to our complaints, we are under the necessity of appealing to your Honorable House in hopes of obtaining relief through such means as you in your wisdom shall see fit.

On behalf of the Indians.

(Signed)

JOSEPH BRANT.

Agent.

Simcoe and his successors, on the other hand, objected to granting patents to Americans to whom Brant had sold lots, on the

ground that the establishment of an alien population in the heart of the province would be inimical to its best interests, if not its safety. The matter was finally settled by the issuance of patents covering three townships of the Five Nations' tract, on the condition that the settlers should take the oath of allegiance. Brant had, during the progress of the dispute, boasted of his power over the militia, and had made a speech at a council where he held up the Executive Government to contempt. The wily chief also sought revenge on President Russell by charging him with having acquired an undue amount of land in the vicinity of York. This may account for Russell's letter to Whitehall, where he says Brant was rude beyond excuse in having refused to dine with him, after having accepted his invitation, and in which he maliciously concludes: "Although cunning, Brant is thrown off his guard by liquor or impatience of control."

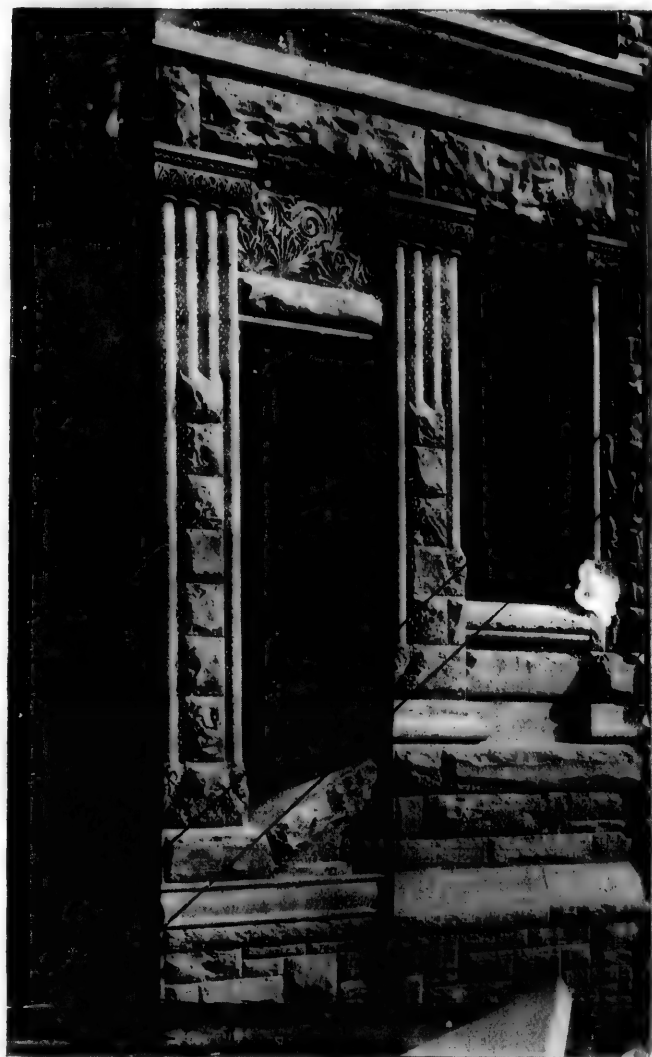
Thus one of the most harassing difficulties connected with the administration of the province early in the century, has not only been solved, but that department of Governmental control transferred to the Dominion Parliament and Executive.

Our parliamentary predecessors had further to deal with the vexed question of the allotment of lands in a new country as well as the clergy reserves, which disturbed the public tranquillity for nearly two generations, but before they became a subject of discussion and agitation the early rulers had in their own hands the apportionment of crown lands to the United Empire Loyalists, and from this also arose scandals and charges of unjust and unfair discrimination. Simcoe professed to be anxious to prevent the land-grabbing which prevailed in the United States, where Washington was advertising his land as "the cream of the country," and to that end opposed the granting of large blocks, in that it had a bad effect upon *bona fide* settlers. For this reason he refused the North-West Company a grant of what is now Sault Ste. Marie. But serious abuses crept in notwithstanding, and in spite of the establishment of land boards in the various districts, indeed some writers accuse Peter Russell of "feathering his own nest" in this connection, as Brant had charged. Governor Hunter, who succeeded Russell, in a private letter to the

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North-East Entrance, New Parliament Building.

King, had this to say of his predecessor: "Had it depended upon Russell, he would have granted lands to the devil and all his family (as good loyalists), provided they could have paid the fees." During the first five years from 1792 to 1797, the U. E. Loyalists had received 100,000 acres of land. It was first intended that only the original loyalists, with their immediate descendants of sons or daughters, should receive grants, but this rule was so far departed from as to necessitate after a time a vigorous application of the original rule.

Among the recipients of land grants, Simcoe himself received 5,000 acres as a colonel of the Queen's Rangers. Benedict Arnold applied for a large area, on the ground of military services—not least than 50,000 acres—but Simcoe reported that he was a character extremely obnoxious to the original loyalists of America. His application was therefore refused, although his estate ultimately received 5,000 acres in the township of Gwillimbury. William Berezzy obtained a grant of 64,000 acres in the township of Markham, and brought a colony there from New York State. The Count de Puissaye, on the other hand, failed in his attempt to settle a colony of French loyalists.

The aggregate of grants made to individuals, executive councillors, officers, soldiers, militia claimants, and refugees from the United States, at last amounted to nearly half the surveyed land in the province, and the abuses connected with the administration of the public lands was one of the strongest arguments advanced by Lord Durham in recommending the constitutional changes which resulted in the passage of the Union Act.

The original Crown area of Upper Canada consisted of nearly 127,000,000 acres, or nearly 200,000 square miles. Of this, 43,000,000 acres have been surveyed, settled and cultivated and over 83,000,000 acres (including the water area) is still unsurveyed.

Between 1792 and 1839, Crown lands were disposed of as follows:—

<i>Authorities.</i>	<i>Acres granted.</i>
Warrants and grants, under old regulations	2,464,800
“ “ under new regulations	195,150
“ “ United Empire and Militia claimants....	2,646,000

<i>Authorities.</i>	<i>Acres granted.</i>
Militia certificates.....	665,500
Settlers to 1819.....	826,800
Gratuitous grants, warrants.....	15,900
Grants, 6th July, 1804, ...	978,400
Land Board flats.....	68,100
Militia	221,100
Scotch Emigrants sent out by Government warrants.....	13,700
Peter Robinson's settlers' flats.....	40,100
Officers' and Soldiers' warrants.....	702,700
Officers of regular Army and Navy.....	126,924
Warrants for land without purchase.....	32,800
Warrants for land by purchase.....	2,000
Total.....	8,399,974

By 1798, when the province was divided into counties and districts, the four original districts of the province contained twenty-three counties, and one hundred and fifty-eight townships, so rapidly had municipal organization proceeded since 1792. To-day, as a striking evidence of the growth of a century, Ontario has forty-five counties, with over eight hundred townships.

The following is a list of the Commissioners of Crown Lands from the Union till the present time, with years of office :

• Hon. R. B. Sullivan, 1841 ; Hon. John Davidson, 1841-2 ; Hon. A. N. Morin, 1842-3 ; Hon. D. P. Papineau, 1844-7 ; Hon. John A. Macdonald, 1847-8 ; Hon. J. H. Price, 1848-51 ; Hon. John Rolph, 1851-53 ; Hon. Louis V. Sicotte, 1853 ; Hon. A. N. Morin, 1853-55 ; Hon. Joseph Cauchon, 1855-57 ; Hon. E. P. Taché, 1857 ; Hon. L. V. Sicotte, 1857-58 ; Hon. A. A. Dorion, 1858 ; Hon. P. M. Vankoughnet, 1858-62 ; Hon. George Sherwood, 1862 ; Hon. Wm. McDougall, 1862-64 ; Hon. Alexander Campbell, 1864-67 ; Hon. Stephen Richards, 1867-71 ; Hon. M. C. Cameron, 1871 ; Hon. R. W. Scott, 1871-73 ; Hon. T. B. Pardee, 1873-89 ; Hon. Arthur S. Hardy, present occupant since 1891.

No more striking contrast between " His Majesty's Province of Upper Canada " of 1792 and the Ontario of 1892, need be afforded than a short topographical description published in 1799, by D. W. Smyth, the Surveyor-General of the Upper Canadian Province, upon instructions from Major-General Simeoe, which em-

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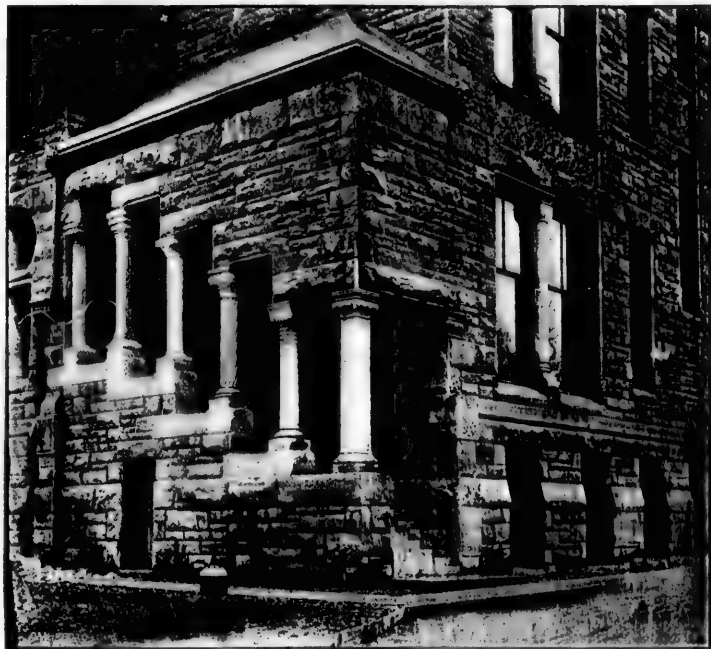
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Speaker's Entrance, New Parliament Building.

phasizes the few points of population or settlement in the vast area comprising Upper Canada. As the proclamation of July 16th, 1792, shows, the province was sub-divided into nineteen districts.

What is now Brant county was then an Indian reservation, with Lincoln and York as neighbors on the south and north-east. Kent county took in "all the country not already included in the several counties herein described; extending northward to the boundary line of Hudson's Bay, including all the territory to the westward and southward of the said line, to the utmost extent of the country commonly known by the name of Canada." This district sent two representatives to the local Parliament. Kingston had then become a port, and a point of comparative importance, while the shores of the Bay of Quintè had become fairly well settled by U. E. Loyalists. Toronto's Island was then a peninsula, called Gibraltar Point, with stores and blockhouses commanding the entrance to the harbor. "The River Don," says the gazetteer attached to the maps, "empties into the harbor a little above the town, running through a marsh which, when drained, will afford beautiful and fertile meadows." Settlement in the vicinity of Burlington Bay was confined to the beach, where an old-time inn, the King's Head, had been built by order of the ever-watchful Simcoe. Niagara, at this time, contained 150 houses, while military posts were situate at Queenston, Chippewa and Fort Erie. The north shore of Lake Erie had only a few settlements until Amherstburg—another military post—was reached. Fifteen miles up the Thames the site of Chatham had been chosen by Simcoe, as had London, at the main forks of the same river. Michilimackinac called by the Canadians La Grosse Isle, was also a part of the vast domain of the new province.

One of the earliest signs of a democratic spirit in the province is seen in the correspondence between Simcoe and Dundas, the former having found that the spirit of the young country was against the election of half-pay officers, and in favor of men who dined in common with their servants! This did not prevent him from indulging in a little electioneering, presumably in his own interests, as, in the same letter, he congratulates himself on having been enabled to secure the return at Kingston of Mr. White.

his Attorney-General, though he was defeated at a later election, when the Government paid all the expenses incurred by the defeated member. As to the composition of the two Houses, the members of the Assembly were active and zealous for particular measures, which were, in the Governor's opinion, improper and futile, while they indulged in over-liberality in providing for the officers of the House, and he concluded, therefore, that the Legislative Council, being cautious and moderate, would constitute a valuable check upon precipitate measures. This alleged "over-liberality" is hardly consistent with the scores of applications for increase of salary that found their way to England, not alone from the civil servants of that day, but from presidents, administrators and judges.

Simcoe evidently regarded the bill for imposing a tax on spirits to produce £1,500 as one of the "precipitate measures," the rejection of which caused no little resentment on the part of the members. A bill adopting the elective principle in town affairs he succeeded in having postponed. "Fence-viewers" were even among those to receive office by election. An "ill-digested bill" to make irregular marriages valid was only withdrawn on the promise that a proper bill should be prepared for the next session, which was done and passed. Simcoe's chief fear seemed to be "the disposition of the Assembly to make matrimony a much less solemn or guarded contract than good policy would justify." The members had their turn at rejecting measures, the proposal to adopt a county rate for county purposes being defeated on the plea that it would prevent emigration. "All argument was useless," writes the Governor, "as the members were all landholders."

If the electors were bent on returning members "who dined in common with their servants," the Governor was on the other hand anxious to "promote an aristocracy," as he termed it, appointing lieutenants to the populous counties, who in turn had the right to appoint magistrates and military officers under them.

He was also impressed with the unsatisfactory ecclesiastical state of the Province, and asked the Home Government to aid in inducing the sons of respectable settlers to offer themselves for

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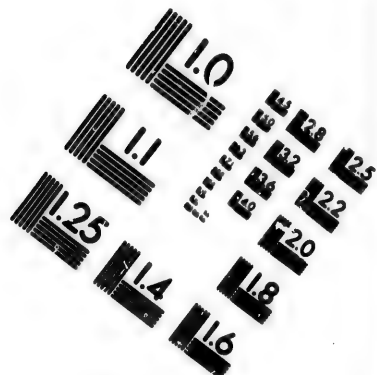
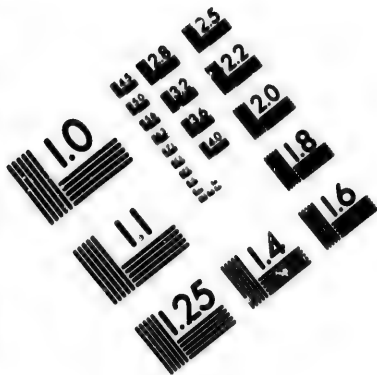
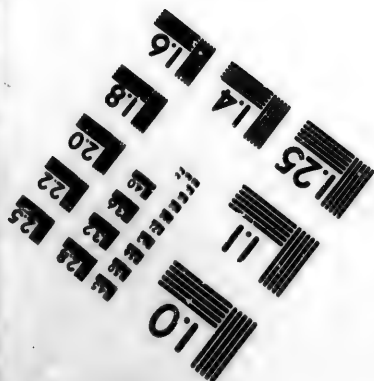
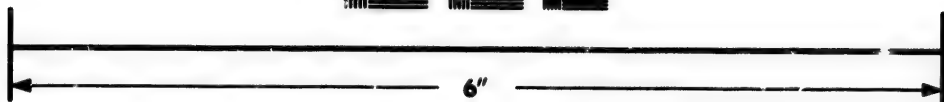
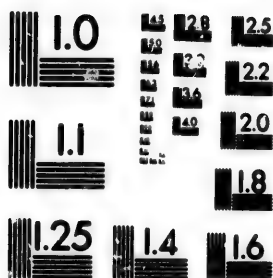


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ordination. Dundas himself, writing to Simcoe from Whitehall, thought it was eminently proper "to give encouragement to clergymen of *good morals* and sound principles."

In this connection, a report of the Hon. Richard Cartwright, one of the Legislative Councillors, on "The Marriage Law in Upper Canada," made in 1792, is given as affording an interesting point of comparison with the religious privileges enjoyed in 1893.

"Report on the subject of Marriages and the State of the Church of England in the Province of Upper Canada, humbly submitted to His Excellency Governor Simcoe.

"The Country now Upper Canada was not settled or cultivated in any part except the settlement of Detroit, till 1784, when the several Provincial Corps doing duty in the Province of Quebec were reduced, and together with many Loyalists from New York established in different Parts of this Province, chiefly along the River St. Lawrence and the Bay of Quenti. In the meanwhile from the year 1777 many families of the Loyalists belonging to Butler's Rangers, the Royal Yorkers, Indian Department and other Corps doing Duty at the Upper Posts, had from Time to Time come into the country, and many young Women of these Families were contracted in Marriage which could not be regularly solemnized, there being no Clergymen at the Posts, nor in the whole country between them and Montreal. The practice in such cases usually was to go before the Officer Commanding the Post who publicly read to the parties the Matrimonial Service in the Book of Common Prayer, using the ring and observing the other forms there prescribed; or if he declined it, as was sometimes the case, it was done by the Adjutants of the Regiment. After the settlements were formed in 1784 the Justices of the Peace used to perform the Marriage Ceremony till the establishment of Clergymen in the Country, when this practice adopted only from necessity hath been discontinued in the Districts where Clergymen reside. This is not yet the case with them all; for though the two lower Districts have had each of them a Protestant Clergyman since the year

1786, it is but a few months since this (Nassau or Home) District hath been provided with one; and the Western District in which the settlement of Detroit is included, is to this Day destitute of that useful and respectable Order of men; yet the Town of Detroit is and has been since the Conquest of Canada inhabited for the most part by Traders of the Protestant Religion who reside there with their Families, and among whom many Inter-marriages have taken place, which formerly were solemnized by the Commanding Officer, or some other Layman occasionally appointed by the Inhabitants for reading prayers to them on Sundays, but of late more commonly by the Magistrates, since Magistrates have been appointed for that District.

"From these circumstances it has happened that the Marriages of the generality of the Inhabitants of Upper Canada are not valid in Law, and that their children must *stricto jure* be considered as illegitimate and consequently not intitled to inherit their property. Indeed this would have been the case, in my opinion, had the Marriage Ceremony been performed even by a regular Clergyman, and with due Observance of all the Forms prescribed by the Laws of England. For the clause in the Act of the 14th year of His Present Majesty for regulating the Government of Quebec which declares 'That in all cases of Controversy relative to Property and Civil Rights, resort shall be had to the Laws of Canada as the rule for the decision of the same,' appears to me to invalidate all Marriages not solemnized according to the Rites of the Church of Rome, so far as these Marriages are considered as giving any Title to property.

"Such being the case it is obvious that it requires the Interposition of the Legislature as well to settle what is past as to provide some Regulations for the future, in framing of which it should be considered that good policy requires that in a new Country at least, matrimonial Connections should be made as easy as may be consistent with the Importance of such Engagements; and having pledged myself to bring this Business forward early in the next Session, I am led to hope that Your Excellency will make such Representations to His Majesty's Ministers as will induce them to consent to such arrangements

respecting this Business as the circumstances of the Country may render expedient, Measures for this purpose having been postponed only because they might be thought to interfere with their Views respecting the Clergy of the Establishment.

"Of this Church I am myself a Member and am sorry to say that the State of it in this Province is not very flattering. A very small proportion of the Inhabitants of Upper Canada have been educated in this Persuasion and the Emigrants to be expected from the United States will for the most part be Sectaries or Dissenters: and nothing prevents the Teachers of this class from being proportionally numerous, but the Inability of the People at present to provide for their support. In the Eastern District, the most populous part of the Province, there is no Church Clergyman. They have a Presbyterian Minister, formerly Chaplain to the 84th Regiment, who receives from Government fifty Pounds p. ann. They have also a Lutheran Minister who is supported by his Congregation, and the Roman Catholic Priest settled at St. Regis occasionally officiates for the Scots Highlanders settled in the lower part of the District, who are very numerous and all Catholics. There are also many Dutch Calvinists in this part of the Province who have made several attempts to get a teacher of their own Sect but hitherto without success.

"In the Midland District where the members of the Church are more numerous than in any other part of the Province, there are two Church Clergymen who are allowed one hundred pounds stg. p. ann. each by Government, and fifty pounds each by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel. There are here, also, some itinerant Methodist Preachers, the Followers of whom are numerous. And many of the Inhabitants of the greatest property are Dutch Calvinists who have for some time past been using their endeavours to get a Minister of their own Sect among them. In the Home District there is one Clergyman who hath been settled here since the month of July last. The Scots Presbyterians who are pretty numerous here and to which Sect the most respectable part of the Inhabitants belong, have built a Meeting House, and raised a Subscription for a Minister of

their own who is shortly expected among them. There are here also many Methodists & Dutch Calvinists.

"In the Western District there are no other clergy than those of the Church of Rome. The Protestant Inhabitants here are principally Presbyterians.

"From this Statement Your Excellency will be able to draw the proper Conclusions; and to judge how far the Establishing the Hierarchy of the Church of England in this Province may be proper & expedient.

"I have the Honor to be

"With the most profound Respect,

"Your Excellency's

"Most humble servant,

"RICHD. CARTWRIGHT, Jr."

"NEWARK, 12th October, 1792."

The history of the gradual growth of religious freedom is partially contained in the petitions on the subject presented to the Legislature by the Council. The earliest of these petitions were for the repeal of the Marriage Law, referred to by Mr. Cartwright, by which only clergymen of the Church of England could perform the marriage rite. Some of these prayers were in the opinion of the first parliamentarians, "couched in very unbecoming language," and were, in addition, signed by men who should have acted otherwise, all classes of dissenters joining under the indeterminate name of Presbyterians. Such an attack on the National Clergy was to be resisted, but, as has been pointed out, the agitation forced the repeal of the Act soon after. "Their next attempt will probably be on the Sevenths set apart for the National Church," Simcoe exclaims in fright, and true enough the clergy reserves were next attacked, though their abolition did not follow till long after.

England not only sent out our rulers, but our first judges, military officers and clergymen of the established church. Chief Justice Elmsley was accompanied by clergymen of "independent means and most respectable character," and £500 was given in 1795 and 1796 towards building churches as an incitement to the

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inhabitants. All idea of supporting ministers by tithes had been then abandoned, and the provincial rulers were told to provide other means by which the clergy should be suitably maintained, the Clergy Reserves being their solution of the question. In 1797 Russell asked leave to have churches built at Newark, York, Cornwall and Sandwich. Up to this time Kingston was the only town in the province possessing a Protestant church. Brant also applied for a missionary for the Five Nations, and Russell advised the Bishop of Quebec to send them a "pious missionary," which was done. In 1799 there were only three clergymen of the Established Church in the entire province, and the fear was expressed that, should religion remain much longer in this state, there would be everything to fear for the morals of the people.

A few years later another evidence of the interest taken in the religious state of the province was afforded by the grant of £100 per annum by the Prince Regent for every future missionary of the gospel sent from England, and who remained in service for ten years. The Local Parliament, in 1807, petitioned Sir Francis Gore to pay £50 to the church or town wardens of Sandwich, Newark, York, Augusta and Cornwall, to be expended upon the churches in these several places.

But while the Established Churches thus received government assistance and official recognition, the dissenting bodies labored under disabilities that did much to foster the spirit of rebellion which manifested itself in 1837. How vastly the conditions have changed since 1802, for instance, when petitions were sent to the Legislature from "the society of people called Methodists," couched in terms similar to the following:

"The petition of the religious community called Methodists humbly sheweth: That the Methodist churches or congregations in this infant Province of Upper Canada are numerous, and a large number of the principal members are of those people called U. E. Loyalists, or their descendants, having fled from their former homes or habitations and joined the Royal British Standard, to which they have since firmly adhered, and in whose defence, should the necessity of the case require it, your petitioners trust their loyalty in the defence of the rights of the best of Sovereigns

would be as conspicuous as it heretofore has been, well assured that none would be readier to risk their lives and properties in defence of Government than those belonging to the Methodist societies. Your petitioners being liable to all the statutes, duties, services, pains and penalties, with those of other religions in the province, and have not an equal participation with them in their religious rights, which we, your petitioners, think a great grievance, have therefore presumed to solicit your honorable House, amongst whom we know there are men well acquainted with our religious tenets, and who know our sufferings. We, your petitioners, have not the least doubt, from the liberality of your House, but that every step will be taken and everything done for us that can be, consistently with our glorious constitution. We, your petitioners, therefore humbly pray that an Act may be passed in our favor, giving authority to our preachers (most of whom are missionaries from the States) to solemnize the religious rites of marriage, as well as to confirm all past marriages performed by them. This requisition we, your petitioners, pray may be taken into your serious consideration, and we trust our request will appear so reasonable that opposition will lay down his head, whilst ease is given to the minds and consciences of a numerous body of the inhabitants of this province, and who are not the least numerous sect in the different districts of Upper Canada.

"And your petitioners will then as now, and shall, as in duty bound, ever pray."

Strangely foreign to the spirit of to-day is another petition presented to the House in 1806, declaring that one Benajah Mallory had been illegally and unduly elected to represent the district of London, on the ground that, both before and since his election, he had been a preacher and teacher of the religious society or sect called Methodists, whereupon the House resolved that the petition did contain grounds and reasons sufficient, if substantiated, to make his election void. John Roblin and James Wilson, who were elected in 1810 to represent Lennox and Addington and Prince Edward counties respectively, were unseated for the same reasons.

The Mennonites and Quakers also had a grievance :

"Whereas, by an Act of the Province, passed in the thirty-third year of His Majesty's reign, your petitioners, after producing a certificate from three or four respectable people, one of whom must be a preacher, in the society to which they belong, shall pay in time of peace four dollars a year, and in time of invasion or insurrection, twenty dollars a year, for which favorable law and liberty of conscience we are thankful to God and the Government under which we live. And whereas, many of our sons, now under age and incapable of judging in matters of conscience, are not as yet considered as church members, and cannot, of course, secure the necessary certificates, we, therefore, humbly pray, the same indulgence may be extended to them that is granted to ourselves, their parents, that is, that they may be exempted from serving in the militia, by paying the commutation money until they arrive at the age of twenty-one, or until they be admitted as church members. And your petitioners further pray that your honorable body will take into your consideration the many difficulties which poor people with large families have to labor under in new settlements, and if you, in your wisdom, should deem meet to lessen the burden of our commutation money, your petitioners, as in duty bound, shall ever pray."

Happily all these difficulties were long ago removed, and absolute religious freedom is ours to enjoy.

The paternalism of the home government also included, to some extent, the educational needs of the new country. As early as 1796, they were of opinion that Quebec or Montreal were the only suitable places for the establishment of a public school, where Greek, Latin and other branches might be taught, though Simcoe in reply strongly recommended the erection of a university. One of the earlier grammar schools was established in Kingston, the salary of the teacher being appropriated from the revenues of the King's mills. Mr. (afterwards Bishop) Strachan taught school for three years at Cornwall, one of his pupils thus aptly describing him: "Mr. S. has now been married nearly two months, and lives in great style, and keeps three servants. He is a great friend to the poor, and spends his money as fast as he gets it. He is very pas-

sionate." The setting apart of the school lands soon furnished the necessary funds, and educational facilities were slowly and gradually provided in the shape of rude log school houses, and teachers, with perhaps more of native ability than the trained qualifications now required. Many of these old-time tutors travelled from settlement to settlement dispensing education. The crying need of education for their children, on the part of the early settlers, is seen in their petitions to the Government, one of which reads:

The petition of the undersigned magistrates and others of the county of Glengarry, eastern district, humbly sheweth:

"That amidst the many blessings your petitioners enjoy under the constitution and Government of this province, and notwithstanding the wise exertions of the Legislature to promote the public prosperity, they still contemplate with anxiety the ill consequences that may result from the want of schools, both to the present generation and to posterity. That though the scarcity of these useful institutions may be ascribed in some degree to the infant state of the province in general, and to the want of adequate means to give them weight and perpetuity, yet peculiar circumstances aggravate these unavoidable misfortunes, in this part of the province in particular. The Highlanders who form the great majority of inhabitants in this county, and who are in general a moral and religious people, are yet extremely backward in promoting any public institutions of learning.

"In their native country they were accustomed to hear the beauties of Christianity inculcated in their mother tongue, whence many of them supposed that an English education was unnecessary, and what each individual was made to contribute by public authority towards the support of a school was so very light and so imperceptibly collected with the annual rents, that the mass of the people actually forgot that they bore any part of the burden.

"These circumstances, together with the numerous charity schools established in different parts of the Highlands of Scotland, which cost nothing to the inhabitants, have impressed the

natives of that country with habits of thinking unfavorable to public institutions, and the few schools founded among them here (by the painful exertions of certain individuals) are so discouraging and unprofitable to public instructors, that consequently they are fluctuating and of little value. Your petitioners therefore submit it to your consideration whether the erection of schools by public authority in the most central places in the country, under such regulations as may to your wisdom seem meet and with such provisions as circumstances may afford, would not be a measure of great utility, both in political and moral view, to the rising generation, and would not speedily counteract the effect of an improper bias contracted by the people, who in other respects are a reasonable and valuable description of men. And, as in duty bound, your petitioners will ever pray, etc."

To-day there are in this province six thousand commodious school structures, accommodating half a million registered pupils, taught by 8,000 well-trained teachers.

Reference has already been made to the existence of slavery in the province, and the passage of an Act of abolition during the first Parliament. Though we bestow praise upon the legislators who passed such a beneficent law so early in the history of the province, some of them strenuously opposed it, many plausible arguments being brought forward in respect to the dearth of labor and the difficulty of obtaining servants. A correspondent of that day has written, "Some possessing Negroes, knowing that it was questionable if any subsisting law authorized slavery, wished to reject the bill entirely, others wished to supply themselves by giving leave to import for two years. A compromise was effected by securing the property (slaves) already held, but putting an immediate stop to importation and providing for the gradual abolition of slavery." An incident in connection with the existence of slavery in the province is recorded in the forcible abduction of a negro girl at Newark, who was sold to a person in the United States.

The following is a copy of a receipt for a sum of money paid for a negro woman in Canada in 1812. The transaction took place about where Colborne now stands:

"This may certify that I have this day sold for the consideration of forty pounds to me in hand paid by William H. Wallbridge, my negro woman Bett, of about twenty-five years of age, and her infant child, to have and to hold from me or every other person whatever, as witness my hand this 14th day of March, 1812.

"JOSEPH KEELER.

"Witnesses present:

"ELIAS WALLBRIDGE.

"ASA SMITH."

It is difficult to say definitely when party lines were first formed. In 1793, Simcoe congratulates himself that no "adverse party" had yet formed itself, though he suspects it may sooner take place in the Upper than in the Lower House. On the other hand, while there had been no direct opposition, there had been no direct support to Government measures, and he thinks it wise to avoid using the negative of the Crown, and perhaps stirring up the opposition he evidently feared. Yet there probably has not been a session of the hundred held when the Houses were not divided into opposing forces, whether on party lines as now understood, or independent of political bias. A curious message from Whitehall expressed the sorrow of Dundas in observing any tendency on the part of the members of the Legislature to oppose Government in matters so evidently beneficial to the province, but, in his generous opinion, allowance must be made for the novelty of the duties. To view things in a wide, rather than a local light, would naturally be repugnant to the first impressions in their minds!

The Hon. Richard Cartwright was undoubtedly one of the independents of his day, and Simcoe makes frequent reference to his opposition, but in a letter to the Duke of Portland, Simcoe expresses the hope of conciliating the opposing Councillor and removing his hostility to the measures of Government that might be necessary for the public service. An organized opposition followed Thorpe's first election in 1806, and ever since such "turbulent spirits" as Willcocks, Gourlay, the Bidwells, and the later "fathers of reform" obtained seats in the Legislature, the ins and the outs have been represented.

Another task devolving upon our early administrators was that of opening up the virgin country for settlement, and facilitating inter-communication between the few settlements that existed. After the Legislature had been in existence for a few sessions, road commissioners were appointed, but the first steps were taken under Simcoe, who indeed pursued a vigorous policy in this respect, after having traversed large portions of the province. He reports in 1793 having found a route hitherto unknown between York and the waters flowing into Lake Huron, and merchants were buying lots in York in anticipation of the opening of this route. The Yonge-street road leading from York to Lake Simcoe (or Lake Aux Claies as it was formerly called) was also made by the Queen's Rangers, and a year or two afterward he reported that seventy families had settled along its borders. Gloucester (or Penetanguishene) he held to be the most considerable town in Upper Canada, as the passage to the Northwest would be *via* it. "Easy means of communication" between Montreal and Lake Huron were also considered, "especially by traineau in winter." It was hoped the East India Company would establish a warehouse at Kingston, and that trade might be carried to a great length, particularly to Chicago, where Simcoe apprehended a settlement would immediately take place; what was wanted was a liberal system of commerce on the lakes.

This naturally leads to the question of trade and commerce which the new Government had to deal with. If the law-makers and legislators of to-day have a difficulty to adjust taxation or to adopt new methods of raising a revenue, their predecessors found the problem much more troublesome and hard to solve. Spirits, and, later, stills were the favorite subjects for levying a tax upon. Then came the question as to how the export trade could be managed, the natural vent for the produce of the province appearing to be by the Mississippi. For several years, extending indeed to the time of the union, much friction was caused by commercial misunderstandings between Upper and Lower Canada. Investigations, recriminations and readjustment of accounts followed in quick succession, the result being a spirit far removed from the amity that should prevail between sister pro-

vinces. It is interesting to note, too, that there was an alarm at the power of the monopolists fully a century ago, connected with the supply of flour to the garrisons, and a warning is even issued against land jobbers.

While Parliament met at Niagara, the home authorities were told that the establishment of a Government in Upper Canada was absolutely necessary for the preservation of British commerce against the aggression of the United States, the two countries thereafter watching each other with eyes more or less blinded by jealousy.

Notwithstanding the friction between Upper Canada and the United States, individual efforts were made to foster trade. One trader suggests the possibility of encouraging trade between Michilemackinac and Kentucky, based on the trade already established with St. Louis, and the settlements on the Illinois where British goods were chiefly consumed. This led the Americans to propose a ten per cent. protective tax on this trade, though British manufactures were disseminated through a chain of posts along the Mississippi, the Illinois and other great waterways. Illinois then belonged to the Spaniards.

Elaborate reports were from time to time made to the Lords of Trade sitting in commercial council in Old London, which dealt with the possible productions of Upper Canada—tobacco, indigo, hemp and flax—the importance of the fur trade, relations with the Spaniards in Illinois, the merchants of Kentucky and the Indians. They spoke of how British capital invigorated the merchants of Philadelphia and Baltimore, coupled with the hope that a preference would be shown by British capital for a British province. The benefit of having mines, especially iron mines, worked was pointed out, while attention was drawn to the possibilities of water power being derived from the rapids and falls of Niagara—a power that is only now being utilized—and a petitioner of 1811, who possessed “a new method of producing power by steam,” asked for a seven years’ exclusive monopoly of his discovery, offering in the meantime to apply his new power “for the benefit of a grist mill,” for \$35, for a saw mill, \$35, and for a distillery, \$25.

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Sir Oliver Mowat, K.C.M.G.

The establishment of fairs was among the first steps taken to promote internal trade, and when York had been given two market days in the year, other sections of the country asked for the same privilege. The settlers of Glengarry, as an instance, petitioned :

" That, in the present state of the country your petitioners experience many inconveniences from the want of a market for several articles of produce which will hardly bear the expense of transportation to Lower Canada, where similar articles are already abundant, and the markets are supplied with one half of the expense to the farmer that will unavoidably be incurred by persons from this quarter. That, young as this country is, it now yields some few superfluities which might be turned to greater advantage by being sold or bartered within itself than by being disposed of even at a higher price in the Lower Province, considering the loss of time consequent upon going thither, and the perpetual drain of money which the country suffers by depending solely upon the Montreal market. That, in order to remedy these inconveniences and disadvantages, your petitioners conceive that a Fair established at Sir John Johnson's Mills in this county in the months of May and October, would be of essential service to the community, as in a growing country emigrants and others may there be supplied with many necessaries which the vicinity can furnish, and the old inhabitants may find it a sort of convenient exchange for bartering with one another cattle, horses, sheep, leather, wool, yarn, butter, sugar, home-spun cloth, linen, and such other articles as they can spare a little of at present, and hope to have more in process of time. That, though your petitioners must depend upon the Montreal market for articles of luxury and a few others, yet they flatter themselves that in a short time they can furnish a surplus of the most of the necessaries of life within themselves, and that the establishment of an internal market would be a spur to industry and emulation to every individual, and may, in time, turn the course of exchange in such articles from the Lower to the Upper Province, as the inhabitants do already excel the Lower Canadians in home manufacture, and hope to out-rival them still more as their means and

experience increases. Under these impressions your petitioners are encouraged to enquire whether the scheme of a Fair may not be contemplated as an object of some magnitude to the inhabitants of this country, and to hope that it will meet with your countenance and approbation."

"An Act for granting to His Majesty, his heirs and successors, to and for the uses of this province, the like duties on goods and merchandise brought into this province from the United States of America, as are now paid on goods and merchandise imported from Great Britain and other places," is an early attempt at building up a protective tariff, and that the trade question was as important then as it is to-day is seen in a petition presented in 1808 to the House, which is worthy of a place *in extenso*:

"To the Gentlemen Commons, Members of the House of Assembly of the Province of Upper Canada, in Parliament assembled.

"We, His Majesty's most loyal and dutiful subjects, inhabitants of the County of Prince Edward, in the Midland District, and Province aforesaid,

"Deeply impressed with a sense of the present confined situation of the commerce of this country, think it our indispensable duty, for the present and future prosperity thereof, to lay before you what we conceive a true and just statement of it, and the much to be lamented method of purchasing and exporting, etc., of every commodity we can furnish for exportation, at the ports of Quebec and Montreal; to which places we are obliged to take and dispose of each and every article we can furnish for the purpose aforesaid.

"We find that a prohibition of all vessels (the English excepted) from entering the aforesaid ports to be the greatest misfortune attending our situation. First, it throws the whole trade of these ports into the hands of a few individuals residing therein, which governs all our commerce. Secondly, it causes a combination between them to fix prices on all imports and exports, which, we are sorry to say, they have generally done to our direct damage. Thirdly, it causes all imports and exports to be carried on in chartered vessels. Fourthly, it prohibits us from any advantage or profit arising from a trade with any foreign

kingdom, state, or country, even where our fellow subjects are permitted to trade.

"And, finally, it excludes us from any privilege in trade, except trusting our all in that line in the hands of the aforesaid individuals, which have had, and still hold, the power of allowing us whatever price they please for all exports, and in return compel us to pay whatever price they please to charge for all imports of merchandise which come solely through their hands, imported as aforesaid in a few chartered vessels. And we are aware that for several years past the exports have employed more than double the number of chartered vessels than the imports have; which, of course, leaves more than half the aforesaid vessels to come in under ballast, and cannot be expected to take freights on the same reasonable terms as if they were freighted in and out, which serves as one of the many polities or excuses which these individuals make use of for taking our produce, lumber, and every article we can furnish for exportation at a very reduced price to what might otherwise be allowed by them. We can, with confidence, and from a long experience, namely, since we have been able to furnish a single article for exportation, assure you that nothing but a scarcity of whatever commodity was most wanting would cause it to command a fair price in the aforesaid market; which is principally owing to the confined situation of the commerce as aforesaid, and are severally of opinion that the only and sure method of causing a medium of contrast or spirit of opposition (which we think to a certain degree necessary in trade) in these more enlightened days of the world would be to admit a free trade to and from the aforesaid ports, with all nations and people with whom His Majesty is at peace, and allowing commerce. We are also well aware that without it, it is almost impossible for the farmers, who, under their All-wise Creator, are the main pillar and support of all nations and countries, to receive a just reward for all their labors. We have the satisfaction to observe that this country is blessed seemingly with all that nature could do for it—a good market for the produce of our labors excepted, and Providence has placed an industrious people therein to till the fertile soil, who no doubt would follow their

plough and reap their harvest with smiles on their countenances, could they only be satisfied that they were to receive a reasonable price for what they might have left after supporting their families. We also lament that the situation of the commerce of so great and good a country as this province might be under the aid of Providence, which we hope may guide all our councils, and inspire every branch of our Legislature with a sense of the obligation they are under to give all assistance in their power to have the commercial situation there placed on the best, most favorable, and permanent footing that its remote situation from a market can possibly admit of.

" We hope you will join us in opinion, and we look up to you for redress, for not only this but other grievances that we have a right to complain of, at least as you in your situation can assist or take notice of, that we conceive to extend to every matter or thing which doth or may tend to harm the welfare or prosperity of your constituents, or benefit the same. We also request you will communicate this to the other two branches of the Legislature in what manner you may think most proper, and at the same time request their aid in adopting measures the most fit and speedy to remedy the aforesaid grievances. We are also aware that nothing can be done to insure a free trade as aforesaid, short of obtaining His Majesty's consent, occasioned by stipulation in the present treaty of amity, commerce and navigation, between His Majesty and the United States of America, at least as far as that nation is concerned; and trust that you will see with us the immediate necessity of an endeavor to obtain the privilege aforesaid, and, through a petition, or by some other means that may be thought proper, make the same known to our most Gracious Sovereign.

" We also assure you that we are willing to accept it under every restriction as to duties which might otherwise tend to harm His Majesty or his subjects in general; and we are confident that the obtaining the above mentioned privilege would be a means of thousands of good subjects emigrating immediately to this country. It is with regret we have to observe that our above stated situation renders us incapable of being that benefit to our most Gracious Sovereign in conjunction with our fellow subjects

in other parts of his Dominions, that our inclination leads us to be.

"We conclude this our prayer and statement, having given only the outlines of our opinion on the above important subject, as we conceive it, and with a sanguine hope that you will think with us that there is an actual necessity of endeavouring by the best and surest method of obtaining it to enhance the price of every article we can furnish for exportation.

"We also flatter ourselves that our fellow subjects throughout the Province will join us in this opinion, and hope to see some abler pen employed in adopting the most salutary measures to be taken in the pursuit thereof, at the same time trusting that you will seriously reflect on this subject, and pay it the respect which in your wisdom you may deem it worthy of."

As in all countries and in all parliaments, the taxation of spirits was among the first fiscal laws debated at Newark, the first application of the fund being asked for the cost of civil government, and then (a) to supply gaols, bridges, and other public works, (b) to supply county wants, and (c) to leave enough for the "wages" of the members. Early in 1800, liquor stills were heavily taxed, the liquor traffic thus providing one of the chief funds of the revenue. In later sessions the subject of intemperance had a place in Addresses and Prorogation Speeches, its evils and destructiveness being referred to in strong terms.

The fact that riots had taken place in Pennsylvania owing to an obnoxious tax on whiskey, which had become a circulating medium owing to the want of corn, frightened the Upper Canadian legislators for a time who, however, continued the tax. It is to be feared that the Government did not set a temperance example, especially to the Indians, as the Superintendent of the Indian Department was in the habit of asking for a supply of rum at the distributions of presents to the tribes.

The administration of justice was accomplished under great difficulties. Chief Justice Elmsley objected to the removal of the Courts of Justice from Newark to York when he arrived from England in 1797, on the grounds that it was forty miles beyond the most remote settlements at the head of the lakes, and the

road to it passed through a country belonging to the Missis-
augas. There was no gaol or courthouse there, no accommoda-
tion for grand or petit juries, none for the suitors, the witnesses,
or the bar, and very indifferent for the judges, so that those at-
tending had to remain in the open air, or be crowded in tents.
Many of the jurors, too, would have to travel sixty or eighty
miles, and be absent from home not less than ten days, so that a
mere fine would have no effect as against the expense, loss of
time and fatigue in going to that point; in fact, he very much
feared he would not be able to form a jury at York, and any
interruption to the course of justice would be very pernicious.
President Russell opposed the Chief Justice's views, however,
and the Court of King's Bench thereafter sat at York.

It would seem that the legal qualifications now required were
unknown then, as Governor Hunter refers in a letter to "the
limited knowledge of the law possessed by the bar. With a few
exceptions, not one of them was ever within the walls of a Court
of Chancery." When a gaol was ultimately built at York, it
was made large enough to hold debtors as well as criminals, the
gaoler receiving 5s. a day salary, and 1s. 3d. daily for the main-
tenance of each prisoner.

The practice of electing judges to parliament was made a
question in 1807, when the opponents of Judge Thorpe—"the
radical judge"—contested his right to occupy his seat, on ac-
count of his judicial position. The argument was "that in
England none of the Judges of the Court of King's Bench,
Common Pleas, Barons of the Exchequer who have judicial
places, can be chosen Knight, Citizen, or Burgess in Parliament,
and that having adopted in this Province the Law of England
as a rule of decision, the said Robert Thorpe was not eligible to
sit as a member."

"One who decides on the life, liberty and property of His
Majesty's subjects," they continued, "must necessarily be liable
to the frailties and passions incident to human nature, and may,
therefore, imbibe partialities, prejudices or prepossessions repug-
nant to and at war with the purity of the unsullied ermine, inimical
to the independence and dignified administration of the law, and

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Navy Hall, Newark, 1792.

subversive of the free and constitutional liberties of His Majesty's subjects: that it was unconstitutional, inasmuch as being an attempt to clothe, arm and blend in one person the conflicting powers, authorities and jurisdiction of the Legislative and judicial functions, contrary to the spirit of good government."

While this petition was dismissed, Thorpe's enemies succeeded in having him suspended from the judgeship and recalled to England. The system of electing judges to parliament was, however, soon thereafter abolished, a bill being passed in 1811 "making ineligible to a seat in the House any person or persons who shall hold, sustain or enjoy an office, place or appointment of profit or emolument in and by virtue of any commission derived immediately from His Majesty, or of any commission derived from His Excellency the Lieutenant-Governor or person administering the Government of this province, Registrars of Counties only excepted."

William Willcocks was also a judge at this time, and as a comparison to the emoluments received by the judiciary now, it is interesting to note he petitioned that he had been a judge of the Home District Court for more than seven years, and, he presumed to flatter himself, had discharged his duty therein to the satisfaction of the public; that his fees had never exceeded £10 a year, and that they were entirely unequal to his labours, he being obliged to attend four times in a year and at every Quarter Sessions to try causes.

Many curious acts were on the statute books in those days, such as the public whipping of deserters in case they failed to pay their fines, and the placing in the pillory, as was often done, of offenders, and the branding by fire on the hand. The legislators, in the interests of a high public morality, passed a bill in 1810 prohibiting public plays and shows, as well as one to "prevent all plays of interludes, puppet shows, rope dancers, or stage playing for hire or gain."

Many other comparisons might be made—of the stirring incidents attendant upon open voting, when an election took four to six days and when, as one victorious letter-writer of York says, they had "a famous electioneering dinner after the polls closed,

and after 130 of the inhabitants had marched to the town with flags flying:" of the frequency of duelling, many lives being lost in that way: of the military laws in force prior to 1812, and of the many other conditions then existent, and which stand out in such striking contrast to our own times. The abuses arising out of open voting early led to an agitation for the ballot, inasmuch as "the present method of voting at elections within this province is productive of many and great abuses, one of the most prominent of which is the opportunity which it affords to rich and powerful individuals of exerting an undue influence over the minds of the electors, and causing their choice too frequently to fall upon men but little qualified for so important a trust." This particular reform was, however, a long time in coming.

The perfection which the modern post office system has attained is a comparatively recent fact. There is no need for dwelling at length upon the days of the mail carrier and the mail coach, when letters were few and postage high, but the insertion of some of the prices prevailing in 1820, for the carriage of letters, may be of interest. With York as the starting-point, the postage to Dundas was 8d.; Grimsby, St. Catharines, Niagara, Queenston and Chippawa, 10d. each; Vittoria, 1s.; Amherstburg, 1s. 4d. The rate from England to Halifax was 1s. 8d.; from Halifax to York, 2s. 9d.; Montreal to York, 1s. 2d.; Kingston to York, 10d. In 1821 there were only thirty-five post offices in the provinces as against 2,954 to-day.

The House of that year, as the result of a special committee, decided that the charges then prevalent for the conveyance of letters was in excess of the charges authorized by law. The surplus postal revenue of the early days were sent to England and formed a mite in making up the British budget.

Lengthy reference might be made to the early social life of York—of the State balls given by the Governors and Presidents, of others under the patronage of the officers of the garrison; of the official dinners always given at four p.m.; of the "carroling" or sleigh-riding on the bay or up Yonge-street. Shortly before the war scattered the inhabitants of the town, a rift in the social lute occurred, when the party divisions in the Legislature caused

the stoppage of the general hops or assemblies, each party there-
after holding its own social functions in private houses.

The first military balls were held in the large canvas tent which belonged to Simcoe, and which had been made for and used by Captain Cook, the famous traveller. If its walls could have spoken, what a variety of scenes it could have described—natives in far-off lands, settlers in New South Wales and Australia, negroes in Hayti and Hawaii (the unfortunate voyageur receiving his death wound from a Hawaiian native), and at last the society of a new settlement in a new country in the gayety of the dance or the dinner.

In conclusion, we have but to contrast 1792 with 1892 to be vividly impressed with the degree of growth and development of the province on all the lines that go to make a successful and prosperous state. During the period covered by her four parliament buildings, Ontario has made mighty strides. Educationally, the old log school-houses scattered through the sparsely populated country have been supplanted and supplemented by thousands of schools. Instead of a few hundred pupils in attendance as then, now half a million young Canadians are being taught, practically free. Then, the lumbering stage coach or the slow and uncertain sailing vessels were the only means of conveyance. Even the peregrinating governors of the good old days, when making a sort of royal tour through the new country, made comparatively slow progress over the rough roads. Now, the steel arteries cover the land like a network, until 15,000 miles of railway now serve the Dominion as a whole. Then, the administration of justice was cumbersome and slow compared with to-day. Then, the centres of population were few and far between—peopled oases in the midst of forests. Now, Ontario is the banner province of Confederation, with nearly two million of its five million people. Since sixty years ago, the boundaries of the province have been enlarged, adding to its wealth of forest and stream and minerals a stretch of territory almost a province in itself. Toronto, as the capital city, has emerged from her infantile stage of 1796 to the stature of a metropolitan city, the seat of learning and the centre from which radiates

much of the life of Ontario. If the bricks, therefore, of the old structures could speak, if they could picture the Upper Canada of their early days with the Ontario of to-day, they would tell a story of expansion and growth unequalled in the history of new countries.

The year 1892 was a year of anniversaries of Canadian importance. It was the 25th anniversary of Canadian Confederation, the 50th anniversary of the establishment of Responsible Government in the Province, the 250th anniversary of the founding of Montreal, and the 400th anniversary of the discovery of America by Columbus. But the fact that it was the 100th anniversary of the Convocation of the first Parliament of Upper Canada is the most important to the citizens of Ontario.

THE END.





APPENDIX.

LIST OF MEMBERS OF THE PROVINCIAL LEGISLATURE AND OF THE UNITED PARLIAMENT FROM 1792 TO 1892, WITH CONSTITUENCIES REPRESENTED.

The destruction by fire of the first two Parliament buildings, through which so many of the official records were lost, renders the work of compiling a list of the members of the early parliaments, with their constituencies, difficult, and, in some cases, impossible. From division lists and casual mention in those journals of the House that were preserved, some information can be gleaned, but it is necessarily incomplete.

LIST OF MEMBERS OF UPPER CANADA LEGISLATURE FROM 1792 TO 1841.

MEMBERS.	WHEN ELECTED.	CONSTITUENCY.
Alcock, Henry	1801	Durham, Simcoe and York (E. R.)
Adams, Gideon	1813	
Atkinson, James	1825	Frontenac.
Alway, R.	1835	Oxford.
Armstrong, J. R.	1836	Prince Edward.
Aikman, M.	1836	Wentworth.
Booth, John	1792	
Buell, Wm.	1801	Leeds.
Beasley, Richard	1796, 1801	W. R. York, 1st Lincoln & Haldimand.
	1825	Halton.
Burritt	1809	
Baby, James	1792	York and Lincoln.
Eaby, J. B.	1806, '20	
Brownell, John	1809	Stormont and Russell.
Baby, Francis	1829	Essex.
Beikle, John	1813	
Burnham, Zach.	1817, '20	Northumberland and Durham.
	1825	Northumbria land.
Burwell, Mahlon	1813, '17, '20	Oxford and Middlesex.
"	1831	Middlesex.
"	1836	London (town).

MEMBERS.	WHEN ELECTED.	CONSTITUENCY.
Bostwick —	1820	
Bidwell, Barnabas	1821	Lennox and Addington.
Bidwell, M. S.	1824, '25, '29, '31	Lennox and Addington.
Berczy, W.	1825, '29, '31	York.
Baldwin, Dr. W. W.	1820, '29	Norfolk.
Beardsley, B. C.	1825, '31	Lincoln.
Boulton, Geo. S.	1825, '31, '35, '36	Durham.
Blacklock, A. M.	1829	Stormont.
Brouse, George	1829	Dundas.
Buell, Wm., Jr.	1829, '31, '35	Leeds.
Bethune, D.	1829	Kingston.
Baldwin, Robt.	1830	York (town).
Brown, John	1831, '35	Durham.
Brant, John	1831	Haldimand.
Boulton, H. J.	1831	Niagara.
Bruce, W.	1835	Stormont.
Bockus, Chas.	1835	Prince Edward.
Campbell, Alex.	1792	
Cornwall —	1796	
Clench, Ralph	1801, '05	Lincoln (2nd, 3rd and 4th R.)
"	1813	Lincoln (2nd Riding).
Crysaler, John	1805, '13, '17, '25	Dundas.
Cowan, David	1805	Essex.
Casey, Samuel	1820	
Casey, Willett	1817	Lennox and Addington.
Cornwall, Joshua	1817	Kent.
Cameron, John	1817	Glengarry.
Culter, Jas.	1817	Prince Edward.
Chisholm, Alex.	1835	Glengarry.
Chisholm, Wm.	1831, '36	Halton.
Crooks, Jas.	1820	Halton.
Crooks, Wm.	1831	Lincoln.
Clark, Matt.	1823	Lennox and Addington.
Clark, John	1820, '25	Lincoln.
Cummings —	1825	Kingston.
Coleman, Thomas	1825	Hastings.
Cameron, Duncan	1825	Glengarry.
Cawthra, John	1829	Simcoe.
Caldwell, Francis	1835, '36	Essex.
Cook, John	1835, '36	Dundas.
Cornwall, N.	1835	Kent.
Cameron, Mal.	1836	Manark.
Cartwright, John Solomon	1836	Lennox and Addington.
Dorland, Philip	1792	Prince Edward.
Dorland, Thomas	1805, '09	Lennox and Addington.
Dickson, Thomas	1813	
Durand, James	1814	Niagara District.
"	1817	Wentworth.
"	1835	Halton.
Dalton, Thomas	1829	Frontenac.
Dickson, R.	1829	Niagara (town).
Dunlop, R. S.	1835	Huron.
Duncomb, Chas.	1831, '35, '36	Oxford.
" D.	1835, '36	Norfolk.
Deltor, S. H.	1836	Lennox and Addington.
Draper, W. H.	1836	Toronto.
Elliott, Matt.	1801, '05, '09	Essex.

MEMBERS.	WHEN ELECTED.	CONSTITUENCY.
Ewing, Benj.	1825, '29	Northumberland.
Elliott, Wm.	1831	Essex.
Elliott, Geo.	1836	Durham.
French, Jeremiah	1792	
Fraser ———	1796	
Fairfield, William	1797	Addington.
Ferguson, John	1801	Frontenac.
Frazer, W.	1809	Lennox and Addington.
Frazer, Isaac	1817	Lennox and Addington.
Fothergill, Chas.	1825, '29	
Fairfield, Benj.	1813	
Frazer, Alex.	1829, '31	Glengarry.
Frazer, R. D.	1831	Grenville.
Frazer, Donald	1832	Lanark.
Ferrie, C. O.	1836	Hamilton.
Gray, Robt. J. D.	1796, 1801, '05.	Stormont and Russell.
Gough, Thos. B.	1809	
Gamble, Moses	1817	Halton.
Gates ———	1820	
Gordon, James.	1820, '25	Kent.
Gibson, David.	1835, '36	York (1st R.)
Gilchrist ———	1835	
Gowan, O. R.	1836	Leeds.
Howard, Peter.	1805, '09, '17.	Leeds.
Howard, Matt. H.	1831, '35	Leeds.
Hill, Sol.	1. 05.	York (W. R., and Lincoln 1st R.)
Hall, Geo. B.	1817	Essex.
Hatt, Richard	1818	Halton.
Hamilton, Geo.	1820, '25, '29.	Wentworth.
Hamilton, Robt.	1820	Lincoln.
Hagerman, Daniel.	1820	Lennox and Addington.
Hagerman, Chris. Alex.	1831, '36	Kingston.
Horner, Thos.	1820, '25, '29, '32.	Oxford.
Henderson, R. E.	1829	Grenville.
Hopkins, Caleb	1829, '35	Halton.
Hotham, R. P.	1836	Prescott.
Ingersoll, Chas.	1825, '31	Oxford.
Jones, Ephraim	1792	
Jones, Solomon	1796	
Jessup, Edward	1796	
Jones, Jonas	1817, '20, '25.	Grenville.
" "	1836	Leeds.
Jones, Charles	1820, '25	Leeds.
Jones, David	1825	Leeds.
Jones, Henry	1831	Brockville.
Jessup, Ed.	1831	Grenville.
Jarvis, Wm. B.	1831	York (town).
Jarvis, George S.	1836	Cornwall.
Kerr ———	1820	
Kilborn, John.	1829	Leeds.
Ketchum, Jesse	1829, '31	York.
Kearns, John	1836	Prescott.
Lewis, Levi	1809	

MEMBERS.	WHEN ELECTED.	CONSTITUENCY.
Lyons, James	1825, '29	Northumberland.
Lefferty, J. J.	1825, '29	Lincoln.
Longley, Geo.	1829	Grenville.
Lockwood, J. N.	1829	Hastings.
Lewis, J. B.	1831, '35, '36	Carleton.
Lount, Samuel	1835	Simcoe.
Lyon, Geo.	1832	Carleton.
McComb, William	1792	
Macdonald, Hugh	1792	
McDonell, John	1792, '96, 1813	Glengarry.
McDonell, John	1817	Prescott.
McDonell, Angus	1802, '05	Durham, Simcoe and East York.
McDonell, Alex.	1801, '09, '13	Glengarry and Prescott.
"	1820, '25, '36	Glengarry.
McDonell, Angus	1801	Glengarry and Prescott.
McDonell, D.	1820, '25, '29	Prescott and Russell.
McCrae, Thomas	1801	Kent.
McCrae, William	1835, '36	Kent.
McKie, Thomas	1796	Kent.
"	1801	Essex.
McLean, Allan	1805, '09, '13, '17, '20	Frontenac.
Mallory, Benajah	1805, '09	Norfolk, Oxford and Middlesex.
McGregor, John	1805, '09, '13	Kent.
Marble, Henry	1809, '13	Dundas.
McNab, James	1809, '17	Hastings.
Marsh, Ab.	1809	Stormont and Russell.
Mears, Thomas	1809, '13	
McMartin, Alex.	1813, '17, '20, '31	Glengarry.
McCormick, Wm.	1813, '17	Essex.
McLean, Arch.	1820, '25, '29, '31, '36	Stormont.
Matthews, John	1825, '29	Middlesex.
McCall, Duncan	1825, '29, '31	Norfolk.
McBride, Ed.	1825	Niagara.
Morris, William	1825, '29, '35	Lanark.
Mackenzie, Wm. Lyon	1829, '31, '35	York (towns.)
Malcolm, Finlay	1829	Oxford.
McDonald, Arch.	1831, '35, '36	Northumberland.
Mount, Roswell	1831	Middlesex.
Macon, Jean B.	1831	Essex.
Macnab, Allan N.	1831, '35, '36	Wentworth.
McDonald, D. A.	1835, '36	Stormont.
McDonell, D.	1835	Glengarry.
McIntosh, John	1835, '36	York (4th R.)
McKay, Thomas	1835, '36	Russell.
McMicking, Gilbert	1835, '36	Lincoln (4th R.)
Manahan, Anthony	1836	Hastings.
Murney, Ed.	1836	Hastings.
Matthewson, James	1836	Frontenac.
Marks, John	1836	Frontenac.
Morrison, T. D.	1835, '36	York (3rd R.)
Moore, Elias	1835, '36	Middlesex.
Merritt, W. H.	1832, '35, '36	Haldimand.
Malloch, Ed.	1835, '36	Carleton.
McNeill & Co.	1832	Norfolk.
Nelles, Robt.	1801, '05, '13	York (W. R.), Lincoln (1st R.), and
"	1817	1st Lincoln. [Haldimand.]
Nichol, Robt.	1813, '17, '20	Norfolk.
Norton, Hiram	1835, '36	Grenville.

MEMBERS.	WHEN ELECTED.	CONSTITUENCY.
Pettit, Nathaniel	1792	
Pattinson, Richard	1813	
Pattie, David	1820	
Peterson, Paul	1820, '25, '29	Prince Edward.
Perry, Peter	1825, '29, '31, '35	Lennox and Addington.
Plater, Ely	1825	York and Simcoe.
Pinkey, Hamnett	1831	Carleton.
Parke, Thomas	1835, '36	Middlesex.
Powell, J. A. H.	1836	Lanark.
Prince, John	1836	Essex.
Rawling, Benj.	1792	
Robinson, Christopher ..	1796	Addington.
Rogers, David McGregor ..	1796, 1801, '05, '09, '13, '20	Northumberland and Hastings.
Roblin —	1809	
Roblin, John	1831, '35	Prince Edward.
Ridout, Thos. G.	1813	West York and Simcoe.
Robinson, Peter	1817, '20	York (E. R.)
Randal, Robt.	1820, '25, '29, '31	Lincoln.
Ruttan, Henry	1820, '36	Northumberland.
Rolph, John	1825, '29	Middlesex.
Robinson, John Beverley ..	1820, '25, '29	York (town).
Radenhurst, Thos.	1829	Carleton.
Rolph, George	1829	Halton.
Robinson, W. B.	1831, '35, '36	Simcoe.
Richardson, Charles	1835, '36	Niagara.
Rykert, George	1835, '36	Lincoln (2nd R.)
Rymal Jacob	1835	Wentworth.
Spencer, Hazleton	1792	
Smith, Thomas	1796	
Swazey, Isaac	1792, 1801, '05, '13	Lincoln (2nd, 3rd and 4th R.)
"	1817	Lincoln (4th R.)
Smith, D. W.	1792, '96, 1801	Norfolk, Oxford and Middlesex.
Sherwood, Samuel	1801, '05	Grenville.
Sherwood, L. P.	1813, '20	
Sovereign, Phil.	1809	
Street, Sam'l.	1796, 1809	
Secord, D.	1809, '17	Lincoln (3rd R.)
Stinson, John	1809, '13	Prince Edward.
Shaver, Peter	1820, '29, '31, '35, '36	Dundas.
Scollick, William	1825	Halton.
Smith, J. D.	1829	Durham.
Smith, Hermanus	1835	Wentworth.
Samson, J. H.	1829, '31	Hastings.
Small —	1835	
Shibley, Jacob	1835	Frontenac.
Strange —	1835	
Sherwood, Henry	1836	Brockville.
Shale, Ab.	1836	Halton.
* Thompson, Timothy	1796, 1801, '13	Lennox and Addington.
Thorp, Justice	1806	York (2nd R.), Simcoe and Durham.
Thomson, H. C.	1825, '29, '31	Frontenac.
Thompson, Wm.	1825	York and Simcoe.
Terry, Wm.	1829	Lincoln.
Thorburn, David	1835, '36	Lincoln (3rd R.)
Thorn —	1833	
Thompson, Ed. W.	1836	York (2nd R.)

MEMBERS.	WHEN ELECTED.	CONSTITUENCY.
Van Alstine, Peter	1793	Prince Edward.
Van Koughnet, Phil	1817, '20	Stormont and Russell.
"	1825	Stormont.
White, John	1792	
Wilkinson, Richard N.	1796	
Weager, Jacob	1801	Dundas.
Washburn, Eben	1801, '05	Prince Edward.
Wilkinson, W. B.	1805	Glengarry and Prescott.
Weeks, Wm	1805	York (2nd R.), Simcoe and Durham
Wilson, James	1809	
Wilcocks, Joseph	1809, '13	
Willson, John	1809, '13	York (W. R.)
"	1820, '25, '29, '31 ..	Wentworth.
Wilson, Crowell	1809	
Wilson, Jas.	1820, '25, '29, '35 ..	Prince Edward.
White, Reuben	1820, '25, '31	Hastings.
Walsh, Francis L.	1820, '35	Norfolk.
Wilmot, Samuel S.	1820	
Wilkinson, Alex.	1825	Essex.
Wilkinson, John A.	1829, '35	Essex.
Walter, Hamilton	1825	Grenville.
Woodruff, Wm.	1829, '36	Lincoln.
Werdan, Asa	1831	Prince Edward.
Wilson, Wm.	1831, '35	Norfolk.
Warren, John	1831	Haldimand.
Woolverton, Dennis	1835	Lincoln.
Wells, W. B.	1835, '36	Grenville.
Waters —	1835	
Wickens, Chas.	1836	Simcoe.
Young —	1792	
Young, James	1813	
Yager, Henry W.	1835	Hastings.

LIST OF MEMBERS FROM UPPER CANADA IN THE UNITED PARLIA-
MENT FROM 1841-1867.

MEMBERS.	WHEN ELECTED.	CONSTITUENCY.
Aikins, Jas. C.	1854, '58	Peel.
Allan, Chas.	1858	Wellington (N. R.)
Anderson, Wm., Jun.	1861	Prince Edward.
Ault, Samuel.	1861	Stormont.
Baldwin, Robert.	1841	Hastings.
"	1841, '44	York (4th R.)
"	1848	" (N. R.)
Boswell, Geo. Morso	1841	Northumberland (S. R.)
Buchanan, Isaac	1841	Toronto.
Boulton, Henry J.	1842	Niagara (town).
"	1848	Norfolk.
Boulton, Wm. H.	1844, '48	Toronto.
Burritt, Read	1848	Grenville.
Brown, George	1851, '54	Kent.
"	1858, '62, '64	Oxford.
"	1858	Toronto.
Burnham, Asa A.	1851	Northumberland (W. R.)
Blake, Wm. Hume	1848	York (E. R.)
Biggar, Herbert	1854, '58	Brant (W. R.)
Burton, F. H.	1854, '58	Durham (E. R.)
Bell, Robt.	1848	Lanark.
Bell, Robt.	1854, '58, '61	Lanark (N. R.)
"	1861	Russell.
Bowes, John G.	1854	Toronto.
Burwell, Leonidas	1858, '61	Elgin (E. R.)
Buchanan, Isaac	1858, '61, '63	Hamilton.
Benjamin, Geo.	1858, '61	Hastings (N. R.)
Bown, J. Y.	1861	Brant (E. R.)
Biggar, Jas. Lyon	1861	Northumberland (E. R.)
Chesley, Sol. Y.	1841	Cornwall.
Cook, Jno.	1841	Dundas.
Conger, R. B.	1847	Prince Edward.
Craik, Robert	1861	Middlesex (E. R.)
Cook, Ephraim	1851	Oxford.
Conger, Wilson S.	1856	Peterboro'.
Crane, Samuel	1841	Grenville.
Cameron, Malcolm	1841, '44	Lanark.
"	1848	Kent.
"	1851	Huron.
"	1858	Lambton.
Cartwright, John Sol.	1841	Lennox and Addington.
Campbell, Ed. C.	1841	Niagara.
Chalmers, Geo.	1844	Halton (E. R.)
Cummings, Jas.	1844	Lincoln (S. R.)
Crawford, Geo.	1851, '54	Brockville.
Christie, David	1851	Wentworth.
"	1858	Brant (E. R.)
Chrysler, John Pliny	1848, '54	Dundas.
Chisholm, Geo. K.	1854	Halton.

MEMBERS.	WHEN ELECTED.	CONSTITUENCY.
Cayley, Wm.....	1845, '48.....	Huron.
".....	1854.....	Huron and Bruce.
Church, Basil R.....	1854, '58.....	Leeds and Grenville (N. R.)
Cameron, J. Hillyard.....	1854.....	Toronto.
".....	1843.....	Cornwall.
".....	1861.....	Peel.
Clark, Wm.....	1854, '61.....	Wellington (N. R.)
Cook, Jas. W.....	1858.....	Dundas.
Carling, Jno.....	1858, '61.....	London.
Clark, Jno. R.....	1858.....	Northumberland (E. R.)
Connor, Skeffington.....	1858, '61.....	Oxford (S. R.)
Cameron, John.....	1858.....	Victoria.
Cookburn, Jas.....	1861, '63.....	Northumberland (W. R.)
Cameron, M. C.....	1861, '64.....	Ontario (N. R.)
Crawford, John.....	1861.....	Toronto (E. R.)
Cowan, Jas.....	1861.....	Waterloo (S. R.)
Derbishere, Stewart.....	1841.....	Bytown.
Dunn, John Henry.....	1841.....	Toronto.
Daggan, George, Jun.....	1841, '44.....	York (2nd R.)
Durand, James.....	1841.....	Halton (W. R.)
Day, Chas. Dewey.....	1841.....	Ottawa.
Dunlop, Wm.....	1841, '44.....	Huron.
Dickson, Walter H.....	1844, '48.....	Niagara (town)
Dixon, Thos. C.....	1851.....	London (town)
Delong, Jesse.....	1854.....	Leeds (S. R.)
Daly, Thos. Mayne.....	1854, '58, '62.....	Perth.
Dorland, W. C.....	1858.....	Prince Edward.
Dickson, Jas.....	1861.....	Huron and Bruce.
Dawson, Wm. McD.....	1861.....	Ottawa.
Dunsford, Jas. W.....	1861.....	Victoria.
Draper, Wm. H.....	1841.....	Russell.
".....	1845.....	London.
Ermatinger, Ed.....	1844.....	Middlesex.
Egan, John.....	1848, '51.....	Ottawa.
Ferguson, A. J.....	1851, '54.....	Waterloo.
Flint, Billa.....	1848.....	Hastings.
".....	1854.....	Hastings (S. R.)
Foley, M. H.....	1854, '58, '61.....	Waterloo (N. R.)
".....	1861.....	Perth.
Ferrie, Robt.....	1854.....	Waterloo (S. R.)
Finlayson, Hugh.....	1858.....	Brant (E. R.)
Frazer, John.....	1854.....	Welland.
Freeman, Sam. B.....	1854.....	Wentworth (S. R.)
Ferguson, Thos. R.....	1858, '61.....	Simcoe (S. R.)
Gilchrist, John.....	1841.....	Northumberland (N. R.)
Gowan, Ogle R.....	1844.....	Leeds.
Gamble, John W.....	1851, '54.....	York (S. R.)
Gould, Jos.....	1854, '58.....	Ontario (N. R.)
Gibbs, T. N.....	1864.....	Ontario (S. R.)
Hopkins, Caleb.....	1841, '50.....	Halton (E. R.)
Hincks, Francis.....	1841, '48, '51, '54.....	Oxford.
".....	1851.....	Niagara.
".....	1854.....	Renfrew.
Harrison, Samuel B.....	1841.....	Kingston (town).
".....	1844.....	Kent.

MEMBERS.	WHEN ELECTED.	CONSTITUENCY.
Hall, George B.	1844.	Northumberland (S. R.)
Hall, James.	1848.	Peterborough.
Hartman, Joseph.	1851, '54, '58.	York (N. R.)
Hogan, John S.	1858.	Grey.
Holmes, John.	1858.	Huron and Bruce.
Howland, W. P.	1858, '61, '64.	York (W. R.)
Harcourt, Michael.	1858, '61.	Haldimand.
Haultain, F. W.	1861, '64.	Peterborough.
Johnston, James.	1841, '44.	Carleton.
Jessup, H. D.	1844.	Grenville.
Johnston, T. H.	1848, '61.	Prescott.
Jackson, Leo.	1854, '61.	Grey.
Killaly, Hamilton.	1841.	London (town).
Lawrason, Lawrence.	1844.	London (town).
Langton, John.	1851, '54.	Peterborough.
Lyon, George Byron F.	1848, '61, '54, '58.	Russell.
Lyon, George.	1847.	Carleton.
Larwill, Edwin.	1854.	Kent.
Lumsden, J. Mac V.	1854.	Ontario (S. R.)
Loux, John W.	1858.	Russell.
McDonald, John Sandfield	1841, '44, '48, '51, '54	Glengarry.
"	1858, '61.	Cornwall.
McLean, Alexander.	1841.	Stormont.
McDonald, Donald.	1841, '47.	Prescott.
Morris, James.	1841.	Leeds.
Manahan, Anthony.	1841.	Kingston (town).
Macnab, Allan A.	1841, '44, '48, '51, '54	Hamilton (town).
Merritt, William H.	1841, '44, '48, '51, '54,	
"	'58.	Lincoln (N. R.)
Macdonald, Rolland.	1844.	Cornwall.
Macdonnell, George.	1844.	Dundas.
Murney, Edmund.	1844, '51, '54.	Hastings
Macdonald, John A.	1844, '47, '48, '51, '54,	
"	'58, '61.	Kingston.
Meyers, Adam H.	1844, '48.	Northumberland (N. R.)
McFarland, Duncan.	1848.	Welland.
McLachlin, Daniel.	1851.	Bytown.
"	1861.	Renfrew.
Malloch, Edward.	1848, '51.	Carleton.
McDonald, Rod.	1851, '54.	Cornwall.
Mackenzie, William Lyon.	1851, '54, '58.	Haldimand.
Mattice, William.	1851, '54, '58.	Stormont.
McKerlie, Daniel.	1854.	Brant (E. R.)
Munro, Henry.	1854, '58, '61.	Durham (W. R.)
McBeth, George.	1854, '53, '61.	Elgin (W. R.)
Morrison, Joseph C.	1848.	York (W. R.)
"	1854.	Niagara.
Matheson, Donald.	1854.	Oxford (N. R.)
McCann, Henry W.	1854, '58, '61.	Prescott.
Morrison, Angus.	1854, '58, '61.	Simcoe (N. R.)
"	1864.	Niagara.
Macdonald, D. A.	1858.	Glengarry.
McLeod, John.	1858.	Essex.
McKellar, Archibald.	1858, '61.	Kent.
Mowat, Oliver.	1858, '61.	Ontario (S. R.)
MacDougall, J. Lorn.	1858.	Renfrew.

MEMBERS.	WHEN ELECTED.	CONSTITUENCY.
McMicking, Gilbert.....	1858.....	Welland.
Morton, J.....	1861.....	Frontenac.
Mackenzie, Alexander.....	1861.....	Lambton.
McDougall, William.....	1861.....	Oxford (N. R.)
".....	1864.....	Lanark (N. R.)
Munro, George.....	1846.....	York (3rd R.)
Macdonell, D. E.....	1844.....	Stormont.
Mackenzie, Hope F.....	1861.....	Lambton.
McDonald, A. P.....	1859.....	Middlesex.
Magill, Charles.....	1864.....	Hamilton.
McMonies, James.....	1866.....	Wentworth (N. R.)
Niles, William.....	1854.....	Middle ex (E. R.)
Notman, William.....	1848.....	Middlesex.
".....	1858, '61.....	Wentworth (N. R.)
O'Connor, John.....	1862.....	Essex.
Oliver, Thomas.....	1866.....	Oxford (N. R.)
Price, James Harvey.....	1841, '44.....	York (1st R.)
".....	1848.....	York (S. R.)
Powell, Israel W.....	1841, '44.....	Norfolk.
Parke, Thomas.....	1841.....	Middlesex.
Prince, John.....	1841, '44, '48, '51.....	Essex.
Petrie, Archibald.....	1844.....	Russell.
Patriot, William.....	1851, '54, '58, '61.....	Grenville.
Powell, William F.....	1854, '58, '61.....	Carleton.
Powell, Walker.....	1858.....	Norfolk.
Papineau, D. E.....	1842, '44, '58.....	Ottawa (county).
Portman, M. B.....	1861.....	Middlesex (E. R.)
Purdy, Jesse T.....	1861.....	Grey.
Perry, Peter.....	1850.....	York (E. R.)
Roblin, J. P.....	1841, '44.....	Prince Edward.
Riddell, Robert.....	1844.....	Oxford.
Robinson, W. B.....	1844, '48, '51, '54.....	Simcoe.
Rose, Jesse W.....	1851.....	Dundas.
Richards, William B.....	1848, '51.....	Leeds.
Rolpb, John.....	1851.....	Norfolk.
Ridout, G. P.....	1851.....	Toronto.
Rankin, Arthur.....	1854, '61.....	Essex.
Roblin, David.....	1854, '58.....	Lennox and Addington.
Ross, James.....	1851.....	Northumberland (E. R.)
Robinson, Jno Beverley, Jr.....	1858, '61.....	Toronto.
Rymal, James.....	1858, '61.....	Wentworth (S. R.)
Ryerson, William.....	1861.....	Brant (W. R.)
Ross, J. Sylvester.....	1861.....	Dundas.
Rykert, J. C.....	1861.....	Lincoln.
Ross, James.....	1858.....	Wellington (N. R.)
Sherwood, George.....	1841, '44, '48, '58, '61.....	Brockville.
Smith, Henry, Jr.....	1841, '44, '48, '51, '54, '58.....	Frontenac.
Small, J. E.....	1841, '44.....	York (3rd R.)
Steele, Elmes.....	1841.....	Simcoe.
Smith, Hermanus.....	1841, '44, '48.....	Wentworth.
Strachan, James McG.....	1841.....	Huron.
Seymour, Benjamin.....	1844, '48, '51.....	Lennox and Addington.
Stewart, Neil.....	1844.....	Prescott.
Sherwood, Henry.....	1843, '44, '48, '53.....	Toronto.

MEMBERS.	WHEN ELECTED.	CONSTITUENCY.
Scott, John.....	1848.....	Bytown.
Stewart, William.....	1843.....	Russell.
" ".....	1844, '51.....	Bytown.
Smith, James.....	1848, '51.....	Durham.
" ".....	1854.....	Victoria.
Shaw, James.....	1851, '54.....	Lanark.
Stevenson, David B.....	1848, '51, '54.....	Prince Edward.
Street, Thomas C.....	1851, '61.....	Welland.
Southwick, George.....	1854.....	Elgin (E. R.)
Scatchard, John.....	1854, '58, '61.....	Middlesex (W. R.)
Smith, Sidney.....	1854, '58.....	Northumberland (W. R.)
Spence, Robert.....	1854.....	Wentworth (N. R.)
Simpson, John.....	1858, '61.....	Niagara.
Scott, R. W.....	1858, '61.....	Ottawa (city).
Short, Thomas.....	1858.....	Peterborough.
Scott, William.....	1858.....	Waterloo (S. R.)
Stirton, David.....	1858, '61.....	Wellington (S. R.)
Smith, John Shuter.....	1861.....	Durham (E. R.)
Supple, John.....	1856.....	Renfrew.
Scobie, John.....	1862.....	Elgin (E. R.)
Thorburn, David.....	1841.....	Lincoln (S. R.)
Thompson, David.....	1841, '44, '48.....	Haldimand.
Tett, Benjamin.....	1858, '61.....	Leeds (S. R.)
Talbot, Marcus.....	1858.....	Middlesex (E. R.)
Williams, J. T.....	1841, '44.....	Durham.
Webster, James.....	1848.....	Waterloo.
" ".....	1844, '48.....	Halton (W. R.)
Witenhall, John.....	1848.....	Halton.
White, John.....	1851, '58, '61.....	Halton.
Willson, Crowell.....	1851.....	Middlesex.
Wright, Amos.....	1851, '54, '58, '61..	York (E. R.)
Wright, George.....	1851.....	York (W. R.)
Wilson, John.....	1847, '48, '54.....	London (town).
Wallbridge, Lewis.....	1858, '61.....	Hastings (S. R.)
Walsh, Aquila.....	1861.....	Norfolk.
Wilson, Adam.....	1859, '61.....	York (N. R.)
Woods, Joseph.....	1841, '45.....	Kent.
Yeilding, Agar.....	1854.....	Bytown.

LIST OF MEMBERS OF ONTARIO LEGISLATURE FROM 1867 TO DATE.

MEMBERS.	WHEN ELECTED.	CONSTITUENCIES.
Anderson, William.....	1870.....	Prince Edward.
Ardagh, W. D.....	1871.....	Simcoe (N. R.)
Appleby, N. S.....	1875, '80.....	Hastings (E. R.)
Awrey, Nicholas.....	1880, '84, '87, '90...	Wentworth (S. R.)
Armstrong, S.....	1887.....	Parry Sound.
Allan, A. S.....	1887, '90.....	Wellington (W. R.)
Blake, Edward.....	1867, '71.....	Bruce (S. R.)
".....	1871.....	Durham (W. R.)
Baxter, Dr. J.....	1867, '71, '75, '80, '84, '87, '90.....	Haldimand.
Barber, W.....	1867, '71, '75.....	Halton.
Boulter, G. H.....	1867, '71, '75, '80.....	Hastings (N. R.)
Boyd, J.....	1867.....	Prescott.
Beatty, W.....	1867.....	Welland.
Boulton, Alfred.....	1871.....	York (N. R.)
Barr, John.....	1875, '80, '90.....	Dufferin.
Broder, Andrew.....	1875, '80, '84.....	Dundas.
Bishop, Archibald.....	1875, '80, '84, '87, '90	Huron (S. R.)
Brown, N. W.....	1875.....	Ontario (S. R.)
Ballantyne, Thomas.....	1875, '80, '84, '87, '90	Perth (S. R.)
Bonfield, James.....	1875, '80.....	Renfrew (S. R.)
Baker, Adam J.....	1875, '80.....	Russell.
Boulton, D'Arcy.....	1874.....	Simcoe (S. R.)
Bethune, James.....	1872, '75.....	Stormont.
Bell, Robert.....	1875, '80.....	Toronto (W. R.)
Bettes, J. W.....	1882.....	Muskoka and Parry Sound.
Baskerville, Patrick.....	1880, '84.....	Ottawa.
Blezard, Thomas.....	1880, '84, '87, '90...	Peterboro' (E. R.)
Badgerow, G. W.....	1880, '84.....	York (E. R.)
Brereton, Charles H.....	1881, '84.....	Durham (E. R.)
Balfour, W. D.....	1882, '84, '87, '90...	Essex (S. R.)
Blythe, John.....	1884, '87.....	Grey (S. R.)
Biggar, J. W. S.....	1887.....	Bruce (N. R.)
Bronson, E. H.....	1887, '90.....	Ottawa.
Bush, O.....	1891.....	Grenville.
Biggar, W. H.....	1891.....	Hastings (W. R.)
Bigelow, N. Gordon.....	1892.....	Toronto.
Chamberland, F. W.....	1867, '71.....	Algoma.
Cook, Simon.....	1867, '71.....	Dundas.
Craig, J.....	1867, '71.....	Glengarry.
Clark, MacNeil.....	1867, '71.....	Grenville (S. R.)
Corby, H.....	1867, '71.....	Hastings (E. R.)
Carling, Isaac.....	1867.....	Huron.
Carling, John.....	1867, '71.....	London.
Currie, N.....	1867.....	Middlesex (W. R.)
Coyne, J.....	1867, '71.....	Peel.
Carnegie, J.....	1867, '84.....	Peterboro' (W. R.)
Craig, W.....	1867, '71.....	Russell.
Colquhoun, W.....	1867, '71.....	Stormont.
Cameron, M. C.....	1867, '71, '75....	Toronto (E. R.)
Cockburn, A. P.....	1867.....	Victoria (N. R.)

MEMBERS.	WHEN ELECTED.	CONSTITUENCY.
Clemens, Isaac.....	1867, '71.....	Waterloo (S. R.)
Christie, R.....	1867, '71.....	Wentworth (N. R.)
Crosby, H. P.....	1867, '71.....	York (E. R.)
Calvin, D. D.....	1868, '71, '80.....	Frontenac.
Code, Abraham.....	1869, '71, '75.....	Lanark (S. R.)
Clark, John.....	1871, '75.....	Norfolk (N. R.)
Crooks, Adam.....	1871.....	Toronto (W. R.)
".....	1880, '84.....	Oxford (S. R.)
Currie, J. G.	1871, '75.....	Welland.
Clark Charles.....	1871, '75, '80, '84, '87, '90.....	Wellington (C. R.)
Cole, W. H.....	1875.....	Brockville.
Coutts, Alexander.....	1875.....	Kent (W. R.)
Chisholm, Kenneth.....	1874, '80, '81, '87, '90.....	Peel.
Cox, George A.....	1875.....	Peterboro' (W. R.)
Cascaen, John.....	1880, '84.....	Elgin (W. R.)
Creighton, David.....	1880, '84, '87.....	Grey (N. R.)
Caldwell, W. C.....	1873, '80, '84, '88.....	Lanark (N. R.)
Cook, H. H.....	1880.....	Simcoe (E. R.)
Carpenter, F. M.....	1880.....	Wentworth (S. R.)
Clancy, James.....	1884, '87, '90.....	Kent (W. R.)
Clarke, H. E.....	1884, '87, '90.....	Toronto (W. R.)
Chamberlain, T. F.....	1887.....	Dundas.
Craig, T. D.....	1887.....	Durham (E. R.)
Cooke, George A.....	1884.....	Oxford (S. R.)
Clarke, Richard.....	1888.....	Northumberland (E. R.)
Clarke, E. F.....	1887, '90.....	Toronto.
Cruess, John S.....	1887.....	Victoria (W. R.)
Campbell, A. F.....	1891.....	Algoma (E. R.)
Connree, James.....	1885, '90.....	Algoma (W. R.)
Campbell, George.....	1891.....	Durham (E. R.)
Cleland, James.....	1891.....	Grey (N. R.)
Charlton, W. A.....	1891.....	Norfolk (N. R.)
Carpenter, E. G.....	1891.....	Norfolk (S. R.)
Deroche, H. M.....	1871, '75, '80.....	Addington.
Dawson, James.....	1871.....	Kent.
Deacon, Thomas.....	1871, '75.....	Renfrew (N. R.)
Daly, Thomas M.....	1874.....	Perth (N. R.)
Dawson, Simon J.....	1875.....	Algoma.
Dryden, John.....	1880, '84, '87, '90.....	Ontario (S. R.)
Denison, George.....	1884.....	Addington.
Dowling, J. F.....	1884, '90.....	Renfrew (S. R.)
Dance, J. C.....	1888.....	Elgin (E. R.)
Drury, Charles.....	1882, '84, '87, '88.....	Simcoe (E. R.)
Dack, W. M.....	1887, '90.....	Bruce (C. R.)
Dunlop, Arunah.....	1891.....	Renfrew (N. R.)
Davis, E. J.....	1888, '90.....	York (N. R.)
Dill, J. W.....	1885.....	Muskoka and Parry Sound.
Evans, J.....	1867.....	Middlesex (E. R.)
Eyre, J.....	1867.....	Northumberland (E. R.)
Ermatinger, C. O.....	1884.....	Elgin (E. R.)
Evanturel, Alfred.....	1887, '90.....	Prescott.
Finlayson, H.....	1867, '71, '75.....	Brant (N. R.)
Fitzsimmons, W.....	1867, '71.....	Brockville.
Fraser, A.....	1867, '71.....	Northumberland (W. R.)
Ferguson, T. R.....	1867, '71.....	Simcoe (S. R.)
Ferrier, A. D.....	1867.....	Wellington (C. R.)

MEMBERS.	WHEN ELECTED.	CONSTITUENCY.
Farewell, Abram.....	1871.....	Ontario (S. R.)
Fairbairn, T. McC.....	1871.....	Peterboro' (W. R.)
Flesher, John.....	1875.....	Cardwell.
Fraser, C. F.....	1874, '75.....	Grenville (S. R.)
	1880, '84, '87, '90.....	Brockville.
Ferris, James M.....	1875, '80, '84.....	Northumberland (E. R.)
Fleming, John.....	1875.....	Waterloo (S. R.)
French, F. J.....	1880, '84, '87.....	Grenville (S. R.)
Freeman, J. B.....	1880, '84, '87.....	Norfolk (N. R.)
Field, John C.....	1880.....	Northumberland (W. R.)
Field, Corelli C.....	1887, '90.....	"
Fauquier, F. G.....	1884.....	Muskoka and Parry Sound.
Fell, John.....	1884, '87, '90.....	Victoria (N. R.)
Ferguson, Robert.....	1885, '87, '90.....	Kent (E. R.)
Graham, K.....	1867, '71.....	Hastings (W. R.)
Gibbons, Robert.....	1867, '71.....	Huron (S. R.)
Galbraith, Daniel.....	1867, '71.....	Lanark (N. R.)
Greely, Absalom.....	1867.....	Prince Edward.
Gow, Peter.....	1867, '71, '75.....	Wellington (S. R.)
Grahame, T.....	1867.....	York (W. R.)
Gifford, Charles.....	1872.....	Northumberland (W. R.)
Gibson, Thomas.....	1871, '75, '80, '84, '87, '90.....	Huron (E. R.)
Giles, John G.....	1874.....	Leeds (S. R.)
Grange, John T.....	1871, '75.....	Lennox.
Guest, T. B.....	1871.....	Perth (S. R.)
Graham, Peter.....	1875.....	Frontenac.
	1875, '80, '84, '87.....	Lambton (E. R.)
Grant, Alexander J.....	1875.....	Glengarry.
Gibson, J. M.....	1880, '84, '87, '89, '90.....	Hamilton.
Gillies, John.....	1884.....	Bruce (N. R.)
Gould, I. J.....	1884, '87.....	Ontario "
Gray, John.....	1884.....	York (W. R.)
Garson, William.....	1887.....	Lincoln.
Guthrie, Donald.....	1887, '90.....	Wellington (S. R.)
Gilmour, J. T.....	1887, '90.....	York (W. R.)
Godwin, H. T.....	1891.....	Elgin (E. R.)
Garrow, J. T.....	1891.....	Huron (W. R.)
Glendinning, James.....	1891.....	Ontario (N. R.)
Hooper, E. J.....	1867.....	Addington.
Hays, W. T.....	1867.....	Huron (N. R.)
Hodgins, Thomas.....	1871.....	Elgin (W. R.)
Hamilton, George W.....	1871.....	Prescott.
Harrington, Eric.....	1871.....	Renfrew (S. R.)
Hunter, James H.....	1875.....	Grey (S. R.)
Haney, Henry R.....	1873, '75.....	Monck.
Hargraff, W.....	1875.....	Northumberland (W. R.)
Hay, D. D.....	1875, '80.....	Perth (N. R.)
Hardy, A. S.....	1874, '80, '84, '87, '90.....	Brant (S. R.)
Harkin, W.....	1875, '80.....	Prescott.
Hunter, James H.....	1880, '91.....	Grey (S. R.)
Hawley, G. D.....	1880, '84, '85.....	Lennox.
Harcourt, Richard.....	1878, '81, '84, '87, '90.....	Monck.
Hammel, W. H.....	1884, '87, '90.....	Cardwell.
Hudson, W. P.....	1884, '87, '90.....	Hastings (E. R.)
Hess, George.....	1884, '87.....	Perth (N. R.)
Hagar, Albert.....	1881, '84.....	Prescott.
Hart, James.....	1884.....	Prince Edward.

MEMBERS.	WHEN ELECTED.	CONSTITUENCY.
Hilliard, Daniel.....	1887.....	Lanark (N. R.)
Hiscott, James.....	1890.....	Lincoln.
Harty, Wm.....	1892.....	Kingston.
Ingram, A. B.....	1887.....	Elgin (W. R.)
Johnston, Alexander.....	1884.....	Middlesex (W. R.)
Jelly, William.....	1890.....	Dufferin.
Keen, John.....	1875.....	Simcoe.
Kerr, Joseph.....	1880, '84.....	Stormont.
Kerna, William.....	1884, '87, '90.....	Halton.
Kirkwood, James.....	1891.....	Wellington (E. R.)
Lyon, R. A.	1867.....	Carleton.
Luton, D.....	1867.....	Elgin (E. R.)
Lauder, A. W.....	1867, '71, '75, '80, '84.....	Grey (S. R.)
Lount, W.....	1867.....	Simcoe (N. R.)
Long, Thomas.....	1875, '80.....	Simcoe (W. R.)
Lane, John.....	1875.....	York (E. R.)
Lyon, R. A.	1879, '84, '85.....	Algoma.
Lees, William.....	1880, '84, '87.....	Lanark (S. R.)
Livingston, James.....	1880.....	Waterloo (S. R.)
Laidlaw, James.....	1880, '84.....	Wellington (S. R.)
Leys, John.....	1887.....	Toronto.
Lockhart, W. T.....	1890.....	Durham (W. R.)
Loughrin, John.....	1890.....	Nipissing.
McKellar, A.....	1867, '71.....	Bothwell.
".....	1875.....	Kent (E. R.)
MacDonald, John Sanfield.....	1867, '71.....	Cornwall.
McLeod, John.....	1867, '72, '75.....	Durham (W. R.)
McColl, Nicol.....	1867.....	Elgin (W. R.)
McCall, S.....	1867, '71.....	Norfolk (S. R.)
McGill, Dr.....	1867.....	Ontario (S. R.)
Monteith, A.....	1867, '71.....	Perth (N. R.)
Matchett, T.....	1867.....	Victoria (S. R.)
McKim, R.....	1867, '71, '80, '84.....	Wellington (N. R.)
McMurrich, John.....	1867.....	York (N. R.)
McDougall, J. L.....	1867.....	Renfrew (S. R.)
McManus, George.....	1871.....	Cardwell.
Monk, George Wm.....	1871, '75, '80, '84, '87, '90.....	Carleton.
Merrick, Henry.....	1871, '75, '80, '84.....	Leeds and Grenville (N. R.)
Macdonald, H. S.....	1871.....	Leeds (S. R.)
McKenzie, Alexander.....	1871.....	Middlesex (W. R.)
McCallum, Lachlin.....	1871.....	Monck.
McKae, Duncan.....	1871.....	Victoria (N. R.)
McIntyre, A. F.....	1875.....	Cornwall.
Munro, Malcolm G.....	1875.....	Elgin (W. R.)
McCuais, James S.....	1872.....	Prince Edward.
Mostyn, W.....	1875.....	Lanark (N. R.)
Meredith, W. R.....	1872, '75, '80, '84, '87, '90.....	London.
McDougall, John.....	1875.....	Middlesex (N. R.)
Miller, John C.....	1875, '80.....	Muskoka and Parry Sound.
Mowat, Oliver.....	1872, '75, '80, '84, '87, '90.....	Oxford (N. R.)
McGowan, John.....	1874.....	Wellington (N. R.)

MEMBERS.	WHEN ELECTED.	CONSTITUENCY.
Mack, William.....	1880.....	Cornwall.
" ".....	1887, '90.....	Stormont.
McLaughlin, J. W.....	1880, '87.....	Durham (W. R.)
MacMaster, Donald.....	1880.....	Glengarry.
McCraney, Daniel.....	1880, '84.....	Kent (E. R.)
Metcalfe, J. H.....	1880, '84, '87, '91.....	Kingston.
Morgan, William.....	1880, '84, '87.....	Norfolk (S. R.)
Murray, Thomas.....	1867, '80, '84, '87.....	Renfrew (N. R.)
Morgan, Ira.....	1880.....	Russell.
Morris, Alexander.....	1878, '80, '84.....	Toronto (E. R.)
McLaws, David.....	1878.....	Elgin (W. R.)
Madill, Frank.....	1881.....	Ontario (N. R.)
McMahon, James.....	1880, '84, '87, '90.....	Wentworth (N. R.)
McGhee, Robert.....	1884.....	Dufferin.
McKenzie, Donald.....	1884.....	Middlesex (E. R.)
Mulholland, Robert.....	1884.....	Northumberland (W. R.)
McColman, Neil.....	1884.....	Grey (E. R.)
McKay, George R.....	1884.....	Simcoe (S. R.)
McIntyre, D. J.....	1884.....	Victoria (S. R.)
Master, Isaac.....	1878, '82, '84, '87.....	Waterloo (S. R.)
Morin, James E.....	1884, '87.....	Welland.
Miller, J. S.....	1887.....	Addington.
Meacham, W. W.....	1887, '90.....	Lennox.
Marter, George F.....	1887, '90.....	Muskoka.
McAllister, William B.....	1882.....	Renfrew (N. R.)
McKay, Angus.....	1887, '90.....	Oxford (S. R.)
McAndrew, J. A.....	1887.....	Renfrew (S. R.)
McKenzie, Hugh.....	1891.....	Lambton (E. R.)
Mackenzie, Charles.....	1890, '90.....	Lambton (W. R.)
McLenaghan, N.....	1891.....	Lanark (S. R.)
Magwood, Thomas.....	1891.....	Perth (N. R.)
Miscampbell, Andrew.....	1891.....	Simcoe (E. R.)
McKay, John.....	1891.....	Victoria (W. R.)
Moore, J. D.....	1891.....	Waterloo (S. R.)
McCleary, William.....	1891.....	Welland.
McColl, Dugald.....	1891.....	Elgin (W. R.)
McKechnie, Gilbert.....	1891.....	Grey (S. R.)
Neelon, Sylvester.....	1875, '80, '84.....	Lincoln.
Near, Daniel.....	1880.....	Welland.
Nairn, T. M.....	1880, '87.....	Elgin (E. R.)
Oliver, Adam.....	1867, '71, '75.....	Oxford (S. R.)
O'Donoghue, D. J.....	1874, '75.....	Ottawa.
O'Sullivan, J.....	1875.....	Peterboro' (E. R.)
O'Connor, H. P.....	1882, '84, '87, '90.....	Bruc's (S. R.)
Ostrom, G. W.....	1887.....	Hastings (W. R.)
Pardee, Timothy Blair.....	1867, '71, '75, '80, '84, '87.....	Lambton.
Paxton, Thomas.....	1867, '71, '75, '80.....	Ontario (N. R.)
Perry, G.....	1867, '71.....	Oxford (N. R.)
Prince, Albert.....	1871.....	Essex.
Patterson, Peter.....	1871, '75, '80.....	York (W. R.)
Patterson, J. C.....	1875.....	Essex (W. R.)
Preston, R. H.....	1875, '84, '87, '90.....	Leeds (S. R.)
Parkhill, W. J.....	1878, '80.....	Simcoe (S. R.)
Peck, S. S.....	1880.....	Victoria (N. R.)
Phelps, O. J.....	1884, '87.....	Simcoe (W. R.)
Pacaud, Gaspard.....	1887.....	Essex (N. R.)

MEMBERS.	WHEN ELECTED.	CONSTITUENCY.
Paton, Robert	1890	Simcoe (C. R.)
Rykert, J. C.	1867, '71	Lincoln.
Robertson, D.	1867	Niagara.
"	1880	Halton.
Reid, George	1867, '71	Peterboro' (E. R.)
Robinson, William	1871, '75	Kingston.
Richards, Stephen	1871	Niagara.
Rossvear, John	1875, '80	Durham (E. R.)
Ross, A.	1875, '80, '84, '87 ..	Huron (W. R.)
Richardson, R.	1875	Norfolk (S. R.)
Robinson, Charles	1880	Cardwell.
Robertson, Alexander	1880	Hastings (W. R.)
Robinson, Edward	1880	Kent (W. R.)
Richardson, William	1880	Leeds (S. R.)
Ross, A. P.	1884	Cornwall.
Rayside, James	1882, '84, '87, '90 ..	Glengarry.
Roe, Alexander, H.	1884	Lennox.
Rose, Baltis	1882	Hastings (W. R.)
Robillard, Honoré	1884	Russell.
Robillard, Alexander	1887, '90	Russell.
Rorke, Joseph	1887, '90	Grey (C. R.)
Ross, G. W.	1887, '90	Middlesex (W. R.)
Reid, James	1890	Addington.
Ryerson, George Egerton	1893	Toronto.
Sinclair, D.	1867, '71, '75, '80 ..	Bruce (N. R.)
Swinarton, T.	1867	Cardwell.
Smith, Sir Henry	1867	Frontenac.
Scott, T.	1867, '71, '75	Grey (N. R.)
Smith, J.	1867	Kent.
Strange, M. W.	1867	Kingston.
Shaw, W. M.	1867	Lanark (S. R.)
Smith, H. D.	1867	Leeds and Grenville (N. R.)
Stevenson, J.	1867	Lennox.
Smith, J. S.	1867, '71	Middlesex (N. R.)
Secord, G.	1867	Monck.
Scott, R. W.	1867, '71	Ottawa.
Supple, John	1867	Renfrew (N. R.)
Springer, M.	1867, '71, '75, '80 ..	Waterloo (N. R.)
Sexton, William	1867, '71, '75	Wentworth (S. R.)
Striker, Gideon	1871, '75, '80	Prince Edward
Snetsinger, J. G.	1872	Cornwall.
Smith, John D.	1875	Victoria (N. R.)
Stock, Thomas	1875	Wentworth (N. R.)
Scott, W. H.	1874, '80	Peterboro' (W. R.)
Sills, E. G.	1884	Hastings (W. R.)
Snider, E. W. B.	1881, '84, '87, '90 ..	Waterloo (N. R.)
Stewart, F. O.	1887	Dufferin.
Smith, G. B.	1887, '90	York (E. R.)
Stratton, James R.	1887, '90	Peterboro' (W. R.)
Sprague, John A.	1887, '90	Prince Edward
Smith, Hugh	1888, '90	Frontenac.
Sharpe, James	1890	Perry Sound.
Smith, John	1892	Peel.
Tett, B.	1867	Leeds (S. R.)
Trow, J.	1867	Perth (S. R.)
Tooley, Richard	1871, '75, '80, '87, '90	Middlesex (E. R.)
Tait, Joseph	1890	Toronto.

MEMBERS.	WHEN ELECTED.	CONSTITUENCY.
Wood, E. B.	1867, '71.	Brant (S. R.)
Williams, A. T. H.	1867, '71.	Durham (E. R.)
Wigle, S.	1867.	Essex.
Williams, J. M.	1867, '71, '75.	Hamilton.
Wilson, James.	1867.	Norfolk (N. R.)
Wallis, J.	1867.	Toronto (West).
Wilson, J. H.	1871, '75.	Elgin (E. R.)
Webb, W. W.	1871.	Northumberland (E. R.)
Wood, S. C.	1871, '75, '80.	Victoria (S. R.)
Wells, R. M.	1872, '75, '80.	Bruce (S. R.)
Wigle, Lewis.	1875, '80.	Essex.
Wills, Thomas.	1875.	Hastings (W. R.)
Watterworth, John.	1873, '75, '80.	Middlesex (W. R.)
Widdifield, J. H.	1875, '80, '84, '87.	York (N. R.)
White, Solomon.	1878, '80, '84, '90.	Essex (N. R.)
Waters, John.	1880, '84, '87, '90.	Middlesex (N. R.)
Willmot, Henry.	1884, '87.	Frontenac.
Wood, A. F.	1884, '87, '90.	Hastings (N. R.)
Wood, W. B.	1887, '90.	Brant (N. R.)
Willoughby, W. A.	1887, '90.	Northumberland (E. R.)
Wylie, Thomas.	1887, '90.	Simcoe (W. R.)
Whitney, J. P.	1888, '90.	Dundas.
Young, James.	1880, '84.	Brant (N. R.)

